THE FIRST RELIGIOUS SOCIETY IN NEWBURYPORT

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UNITARIAN CHURCH IN NEWBURYPORT

A HISTORY OF
THE FIRST RELIGIOUS SOCIETY
IN NEWBURYPORT, MASSACHUSETTS

BY

MINNIE ATKINSON

THE UNITARIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY'S
"PRIZE" PARISH HISTORY
1933

FOREWORD

This history, by Miss Atkinson, of the parish church of Newburyport, Massachusetts, was awarded the prize offered by the Unitarian Historical Society in 1932 for the best parish history submitted to its judges before May 1, 1933. The announcement of the award was made in the King's Chapel, Boston, on May 25, 1933.

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CONTENTS

CHAPTER I —**Its Background** **Page 7**
Conditions in Newbury—Establishment of Second Parish—Act of incorporation—Incidents.

CHAPTER II —**Ordination of First Minister and Early Matters in the Parish** **Page 13**
Gathering of the church—The covenant—Ordination sermon—Minister's salary—Parsonage—First auxiliary society—Schools—Burying ground—Conditions in the "new town."

CHAPTER III —**Troubles** **Page 21**
"The Great Awakening"—Visit of Whitefield—The Fourth Church in Newbury—Public reading of the scriptures—Capture of Louisburg—Second expedition to Louisburg—Shattering of the meeting house spire by lightning—Franklin's visit.

CHAPTER IV —**The Rev. John Lowell** **Page 27**
Growth of the town—Newburyport separated from Newbury—Character and work of Mr. Lowell—His motto.

CHAPTER V —**Mr. Cary and Mr. Andrews** **Page 31**
Amiable division of the society—Ordination of the Rev. Thomas Cary—Liberal tendencies—Revolutionary war—John Quincy Adams visits the churches—Paralysis of Mr. Cary—Engagement and ordination of John Andrews as colleague of Mr. Cary—Installation of an organ.

CHAPTER VI —**The New Meeting House; Tearing Down the Old One** **Page 41**
Decision to build a new house—Committees appointed to carry forward the project—Value of and selling pews—Final service in old building—Tearing down old house—Dedication of new house.

CHAPTER VII —**In the New Meeting House** **Page 51**
Loss of members—Death of Mr. Cary—His obituary—Dissatisfaction of some members—Society is known as Unitarian—Church escaped disastrous fire—Resignation of Dr. Andrews—His character and death.

CHAPTER VIII —**The Rev. Thomas Fox** **Page 61**
His ordination—The refusal of orthodox churches to take part in it—Large congregations—Introduction of flowers in church—Picnics—Popularity of Mr. Fox—Alteration of the pulpit—New organ—Mr. Fox's interest in schools—His resignation.

CHAPTER IX —**Thomas Wentworth Higginson** **Page 67**
His ordination—His sermons—Anti-slavery views—Mrs. Higginson—His work in the parish—His interest in the education of girls—His resignation—His opinion of the parish.

CHAPTER X —**Succeeding Ministers** **Page 73**
Social conditions—Ordination of the Rev. Charles J. Bowen—New trends in thought—Resignation of Mr. Bowen—The Rev. Artemas Muzzey installed—His conservatism—The civil war—Mr. Muzzey's resignation—Burning of the North church—The Rev. Samuel Calthrop supplies the pulpit—The Rev. Joseph May installed—Well filled church—Mr. May's resignation—The pulpit supplied by visiting ministers—Ordination of the Rev. George L. Stowell—The "Hammond Revival"—Parish hall is built—Festivities—Resignation of Mr. Stowell—Repairing and painting the meeting house—The Rev. Daniel Morehouse—The meeting house is threatened by fire—Universalist society suspended—Incumbency of the Rev. Samuel Beane, D. D.—Ordination of the Rev. Laurence Hayward—Events of his incumbency.

CHAPTER XI —**Three Notable Anniversaries** **Page 83**
150th anniversary of the founding of the parish—Centenary celebration of Pleasant street church—200th anniversary of the founding of the parish.

CHAPTER XII —**The Church School** **Page 91**
Early community school—This society establishes a Sunday school—Studies—Number of pupils and teachers—Relations of Mr. Fox with the school—"Little sermons"—Mr. Higginson's relation with the school—Vestry dedicated—Gift of Mr. William Swasey—Mr. May in the school—Later years.

CHAPTER XIII —**Auxiliary Societies** **Page 97**
Early sewing circle—Parlor finished and furnished—Gas put in meeting house—Alliance—Laymen's League—Young People's Religious Union.

CHAPTER XIV —**Conclusion** **Page 101**
Parish good fortune—Communion silver—Charities.

Ministers of the Parish **Page 104**

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FIRST RELIGIOUS SOCIETY IN NEWBURYPORT

(THIRD PARISH OF NEWBURY)

CHAPTER I

ITS BACKGROUND

The pioneers of Newbury landed on the north bank of the Quascacunquen river ninety years before the Third Parish of Newbury, now the First Religious Society in Newburyport, was established. The first foot to touch the land, on that Spring day of 1635, was that of Nicholas Noyes, young brother of the junior pastor of the band, and ancestor of a distinguished family that, many generations later, belonged to the First Religious Society in Newburyport.

The new township stretched from the Quascacunquen river westward, along the south bank of the Merrimack river, for thirteen miles, and was, approximately, six miles wide. All of this territory was included in the First Parish of Newbury. The river with the Indian name was soon renamed for the beloved senior pastor, the Rev. Thomas Parker.

The first necessity of the settlers was shelter; next came the building of a meeting house. At first all of the crude little homes were built within a half mile of it, on the river bank, for the better protection of the people from whatever dangers might lurk in the unknown wilderness.

With so large and fair a tract open to them, soon it was found impossible to keep all of the settlers in the restricted area. Several families were granted land in the western part of the township. Here, by unremitting drudgery, they laid the foundations for enduring family fortunes.

In the meantime, in the first settlement, an historic struggle was taking place against the local manifestation of the ecclesiastic rule that was strangling liberty in the colony. The two ministers of the infant parish, Thomas Parker and James Noyes, tried to act upon the claim that "the elders are the rulers of the church, and obedience and subjection to them is the duty of the brethren." The "brethren" refused to accept this dictum. The wrangle that followed lasted from 1647 to 1672, and is a background for the first three parishes of Newbury. This quarrel brought to town "many learned and

reverend elders" who tried in vain to make peace. The parish dutifully paid the salary of the ministers, listened respectfully to sermons, but stubbornly maintained its right to govern itself. The quarrel became the talk of the colony and was one of the causes that broke theocratic rule in Massachusetts. The matter was settled only when the county court gave a decision for the people and against the clergy.

The settlers in the western part of Newbury declared it impractical to travel to the meeting house by the river Parker for religious services, or for settling parish affairs. They demanded the right to establish a parish of their own. The First Parish denied it. After much discussion and opposition it removed the meeting house to a site almost opposite to the one now occupied by the Newbury church. This was more than two miles nearer the western group than the original site, but the new settlement was still clamorous for independence; and the distance was declared still impractical and irksome. The matter was not settled until 1694, when the First Parish reluctantly consented to the formation of a Second Parish within its bounds. This became known as the west precinct and eventually became the separate town of West Newbury.

By the beginning of the 18th century a third group of the population of Newbury had come into prominence. This group had chosen a location on the south bank of the Merrimack river. To distinguish this settlement from the original one on the river Parker, that now straggled westward for about three miles, it was called the Newtown, or the Riverside Village, or the Port. The first settlement now became the Oldtown, a name it still bears.

In the Newtown the building of small vessels and some coastal trade was vying in economic importance with the earlier business of farming and fishing. The needs of the two villages became differentiated, and to the First Parish soon came the unwelcome demand for the establishment of a Third Parish. There were excellent geographic reasons for the formation of the Second Parish, but the new demand came because the Oldtown was essentially rural while in the Newtown the seeds of a mercantile and ship-building aristocracy were beginning to sprout. *"The First Parish tried to

*History of Newburyport, by Mrs. E. Vale Smith.

exercise a control over the new settlement that failed to consider their different requirements."

*"Parishes in 1725 were territorial corporations, which possessed municipal franchises in many respects. They chose assessors and levied taxes like towns of the present day. They could hire money and enforce by levies through their collectors on estates of every person in their limits except they belonged to the Episcopal church .....Parishes raised money to support public worship, and to build meeting houses, and also to maintain schools and build school houses. In this respect they were co-ordinate with towns."

The reluctant consent of the First Parish to the formation of a Third Parish was obtained in 1722. The vote is dated September 19th, of that year, when it was recorded "that all the Inhabitants that Desire it, on the Northerly side of the Lane called Chandler's Lane on a Strait Line to ye Northerly side of Capt. John Marchs farm and thence on a strait line to John Browns house untill it comes to the Line of ye Second Parish for said Town, Shall have Liberty to Build a meeting house for themselves—In ye most Reasonable Place for the convenience of said Inhabitants and when they are Duly Qualified for it In ye Judgment of said Parish, are to be sett off and freed from the Ministry for this Part of said Parish."

Three years later the meeting house was built. William Moody, of Byfield, in a letter to his brother-in-law, Judge Samuel Sewall of Boston, who was always interested in Newbury affairs, wrote; "Our people at towne are going to build another meeting house, but intend to set it so nigh to §Mr. Toppan's that I fear that it will make a great contention. Newbury are great sufferers this day by what has happened by contending about the place of a meeting house."

†"The meeting house was at first 45 by 60 feet in length and breadth.....It stood in what is now the market place in Newburyport, the steeple fronting the river. The pulpit, which was on the westerly side, standing near where the town pump now stands." This pump has long since disappeared; but it once stood approxi-

*From the Oration of Amos Noyes, descendant of Nicholas Noyes, upon the 150th anniversary celebration of the founding of the parish.

§The Rev. Christopher Toppan, pastor of the First Parish from 1696 to 1747.

†Sketch of the History of Newbury, Newburyport and West Newbury, by Joshua Coffin.

mately in the center of the triangular piece of land that the citizens of Newburyport have named Market Square. The meeting house faced Fish street, which was the lower part of the present State street. The name is suggestive of an early and important industry. One of the chief landing places for fish was near the meeting house.

The act of incorporation describes the southern boundary of the parish only, and assigns eight families who lived on the First Parish side of it to the new parish, according to their wishes. It concludes thus: "In counsel read and ordered that this report be accepted and that the Land within the Bounds of the said Report described thereof be vested with the powers and privileges that the Inhabitants of the other Precincts are Vested with:

In the House of Representatives Read and Concured, Consented to, (signed) William Dummer."

A browned, crumbling copy of this act of incorporation is treasured among the church papers.

The population of the Newtown numbered at this time about 1400. The loss, therefore, in taxable estates to the First Parish must have been considerable.

*"In such a community luxury, or even comfort in the modern sense were entirely unknown. Probably during §Mr. Lowell's ministry there was not a carpet or stuffed chair in the whole Riverside Village, or a mirror larger than a pane of glass. Wood and peat were the only fuel, coal being unused until after †Mr. Cary died. There were no stoves except foot stoves either in houses or in churches. The communion wine was drunk out of pewter mugs, and what was left was given to the pastor. There was no fire in the meeting house, even in the coldest weather. The minister took a large part of his pay in spareribs and vegetables and other things useful for housekeeping. Help was exchanged, that is, neighbors worked alternately for each other. There were for a long time no pews, except for the minister, but a few stylish young ladies obtained them after a while, and so probably by the beginning of Mr. Cary's ministry the benches without backs upon which nearly all had sat

*Oration of Amos Noyes, 150th anniversary of the founding of the Parish.
§First minister of the Parish.
†Second minister of the Parish.

had been supplanted by more commodious seats. There was so much crowding after seats that it was found necessary to appoint a committee 'to seat the meeting house,' a work of great solicitude and extremely dangerous to the peace of mind and popularity of those who had it to do.

"There was strict surveillance over manners. Tithingmen were appointed, one for every ten families. Their special duties were to see that the Lord's day was observed. They had a long pole with which to rap boys who were unruly in service.

"The whole aspect of society was semi-rural. There were men engaged in fishing and in voyages to the West Indies, and these men were prominent and leading as were the military.....In saying the community was semi-rural, we include the conditions which usually attend a rural community, viz., comparative isolation from the rest of the continent, a tendency to great localization of interest, no common country, very infrequent intercommunication with other colonies. There was a conscious feeling of caste, a great respect for vested interests, an overweening regard for property holders, a veneration for men in office."

When the Third Parish in Newbury was established, there was still danger of Indian attacks. The terrible massacres of Queen Anne's war were still fresh in memory. The eastern Indians were feared, and in 1724 an attack upon them at Norridgewock, in which men of the parish took part, resulted in the death of the French Jesuit, Sebastian Ralle, by Richard Jaques of Newbury. Those who feared papacy as the most terrible evil that could befall them were somewhat relieved, but Canada and Nova Scotia were not far away; and they were in the hands of the French. The fear of French encroachments and an alien religion were never wholly out of the minds of the people of Newbury at this time.

The witchcraft delusion was officially over; but there was a lingering belief in witches. Other terrors were earthquakes, which were of frequent occurrence in the early years of Newbury; northern lights, observed locally for the first time in 1719, might presage harm; Quakers were still persecuted and feared, and epidemics caused many deaths. An unusually severe one swept away a great number of persons in 1725.

Still, life held amenities. The gatherings in the meeting house,

whether secular or for religious services, were of high importance. Tea was introduced in 1720, and tea drinking parties were popular. Parties, even of both sexes, were sometimes held; interesting travelers occasionally visited the town and returning ship captains and sailors brought news of other ports. The population was increasing.

The great marvel of the time, devoutly believed in, was a double headed snake. It was duly reported and described to the credulous Cotton Mather. Whittier tells the story of how

"Cotton Mather came galloping down
All the way to Newbury town,
With his eyes agog and his ears set wide,
And his marvelous inkhorn by his side,"

to take note of the monster and read the portend.

This was in 1724, but no distractions turned the attention of the parish from the completion of its meeting house. On January 15th, 1726, some months after its dedication and a few days before the ordination of its first minister, Judge Samuel Sewall wrote to a relative in the Newtown saying:

" 'Tis a great thing to be a foundation stone in such a Spiritual Building as is now to be erected at Newbury. Am glad your proceedings are so far prospered as that you have prospect of having your Pastor ordained next Wednesday. My love to you, your wife and children, and to cousin Abraham Toppan and his family. Pray for me that God would not forsake me now that I am old and gray headed.

Your Loving Unkle,

Samuel Sewall."

CHAPTER II

ORDINATION OF FIRST MINISTER AND EARLY MATTERS IN THE PARISH

The new meeting house was dedicated on Friday, June 25th, 1725. The Rev. John Tuffs of Newbury's Second Parish preached the sermon. On the following Sunday a young man from Boston, John Lowell, occupied the pulpit. His discourse, falling from this high perch upon the ears of the congregation, assembled on the new, backless benches, was pleasing. He was invited to preach again, and at length received and accepted an invitation to become the settled minister of the Third Parish of Newbury.

John Lowell was the son of Ebenezer and Elizabeth (Shaler) Lowell, and a descendant of the Lowell, or Lowle, family that settled in Newbury in 1639. He was born in Boston, where his father was a shop-keeper, was graduated from Harvard College at the age of seventeen, and was in his twenty-second year when he was settled at Newbury.

On January 2nd, 1726, twenty-two of the male members of the First Parish were dismissed and "gathered" on January 12th by the Rev. Caleb Cushing of Salisbury to form the Third Parish of Newbury. This was a "solemn day of fasting and prayer." Mr. Cushing wrote the covenant: "Whereas it has pleased Almighty God, of his free grace to call and accept us sinful creatures into covenant with His Majesty in Christ, we do therefore, in a deep sense of our unworthiness, and with an humble dependence on Divine grace for assistance, solemnly professing our firm belief in the Christian faith according to the doctrine of the Holy Scriptures, avouch the God whose name alone is Jehovah, Father, Son and Holy Ghost, to be our God, and the God of our seed; and so make a firm covenant with His Majesty in Christ, and one with another, promising, through His grace to give ourselves to God in Christ,—acknowledging him to be our Prophet, Priest and King,—to submit to his government, to all his holy laws and ordinances, to shun all errors with all ungodliness and unrighteousness, and to walk together, as a church, in the faith and fellowship of the gospel, in mutual love and watchfulness, for the carrying of the worship of God, and promoting

our mutual edification in faith and holiness."

This document, signed by men only, *"is silent as to hell or a personal devil, topics so interesting that the omission must have been made in order to be non-committal, in order that all might come together, however variant their belief in reference to these myths."

On the nineteenth of January of the same year the ordination of the new pastor took place. The sermon, by the Rev. Thomas Foxcroft of Boston was §"some sixty pages of three hundred words each..... According to the fashion of the times the discourse was divided and sub-divided into heads or topics. If the other services were of similar length, four hours would not have sufficed to get through with them. The doctrine of the sermon was enforced by numerous and copious extracts from the scriptures and rested upon authority rather than upon argument."

The Text, of suitable length for this heroic discourse, was from second Corinthians, 12, 13, 14, 15. The 14th verse: "Behold the third time I am ready to come to you," must have seemed especially appropriate, Mr. Noyes observes.

†"In those days good men, to relieve the fatigue of long sitting, and to guard against falling asleep, would often rise and stand for a time during the sermon." Since the day was in January, the benches backless and the house unheated, many aching muscles, stiff with cold, must have been relieved in this way. Whether such a privilege was accorded to women is not known. They had at least the comfort of foot stoves.

With a new meeting house dedicated, and a new minister chosen and ordained, the new parish was ready to take up other matters in a business like and generous spirit. It voted, for Mr. Lowell's encouragement, "to undertake and engage" in the ministry, to "pay him one hundred and thirty pounds a year in bills of credit or such other current passable money as shall be equivalent to one hundred and thirty pounds of silver at sixteen shillings per ounce, in case he shall settle with us in the ministry and that we will add twenty pounds to his salary two years from the date hereof, of like money, to be paid annually so long as the said Mr. Lowell shall continue in the work of the ministry among us."

*§Oration of Amos Noyes, 150th Anniversary Celebration.
†Contributions to the Ecclesiastical History of Essex County.

The value of this salary, "reckoned in terms of present day money," estimated Mr. Noyes in 1875, "would be over $3,000." So, if this salary were paid him, the young minister must have been rather more prosperous than most of his first parishioners.

The parish voted "that we will provide a parsonage house, or give him two hundred pounds in bills of credit, to enable him to provide a house for himself, on condition of his settling and continuance with us as above said, to be at his charge."

Evidently all reasonable doubts of his intention to remain with them were removed, and the money promptly paid, for Mr. Lowell bought a house which stood on the then Fish street on the lot now occupied by the public library. To this house he brought a young bride, Miss Sarah Champney of Cambridge; and here, very soon, the religious, intellectual and much of the decorous social life of the community centered.

Mrs. E. Vale Smith says of the new parish: *"Its history is one of peculiar interest, presenting in its early records the simple idea of a primitive church, intent only on fulfilling their appointed work of making themselves and the world better." This was not an inconsiderable undertaking; but the parish seems to have been hopeful and resourceful in carrying forward its plans. In May, 1727, it voted to purchase a bell "weighing four hundred pounds" and appointed a "comity" to attend to this matter and to see that it was placed in the belfry when procured. It was ordered further that the bell be rung at nine o'clock each evening that the people might be in their homes at a seemly hour and safe from the temptations and dangers of darkness.

§"The decaying and languishing state of religion was of deep concern. An association of twenty-four persons was formed who met once a month 'none to absent themselves unless on some extraordinary occasion; the first to redress in themselves and families any irregularities, and next to admonish their neighbors of the same'."

This association undertook to see that the "Sabbath" was observed with proper solemnity. It met, once in three months, deputations from other churches, to consult upon matters of religion

*History of Newburyport.
§History of Newburyport, by Mrs. E. Vale Smith.

and morality and, pursuant of its self-imposed duties, requested the "honorable justice to see that ye ferrymen in and about Newbury, carry no one over ye ferries on ye Lord's day." The association visited the young communicants of the church and endeavored "to counsel and advise them to continue in the sincere practice of those duties that are incumbent upon them by their public confession of Christ." A committee was appointed "to converse with ye wife of" one of the parishioners, "concerning the disturbances she gives him, when he is going to perform family prayers."

Still another committee from the association visited "ye taverns by ye water side" and reminded the landlords of "ye order required to be kept in their houses" and ordered the constable to walk "ye streets after the evening exercise is over on the Lord's day, that the Sabbath may not be profaned."

There is no record of the date when this association gave up the struggle for impeccable conduct in the parish, nor any surviving computation of its accomplishments.

Education was one of the first concerns of the parish. *"The very first years, notwithstanding the expense of a new house, it duplicated the town's appropriation (for schools) and in 1731 hired John Woodbridge to teach Latin exclusively at 60 pounds a year, 'and he to have 4d or 6 cents a week for those scholars who do not belong to the parish, but wish to attend the school'."

In 1730 the parish "voted that the Comity to look out for a place for a school house be a comity to looke out for a burial place." A location near Frog pond was chosen for the school house; and the hilly land lying west of the pond was selected for the cemetery and inclosed by a board fence to keep away the cattle.

This cemetery is known as the Old Hill Burying Ground. Now it is a grass covered, sunny spot with many fallen headstones and sunken spots. Names are engraved there that once were known far and wide as leaders in intellectual, political, religious, military and mercantile affairs. Mr. Lowell and his successor rest there. On a row of head stones, at the foot of the hill, and apart from the other graves, are French names. They mark the resting place of refugees from the French West Indies who came here at the time of the

*History of Newburyport, by Mrs. E. Vale Smith.

French revolution, and are Catholic aliens in this Protestant cemetery.

Many entries in the records of the church refer to schools. Thus, it was voted "that if any Gentleman in our Parish will appear to higher a School Master, they shall have our parishes part of the money that is to be Raised in the Generall, by the Town, provided they do keep a Gramer School a year in sum Convenient place in s'd Parish, and any person in our Parish shall have liberty to send their children, provided they do pay for their Schooling a Groat a week." A groat was a silver piece of English money, worth at the time, about eight cents.

In 1730 it was voted that the schoolmaster should have sixty pounds a year in addition to "what is raised in the town in general and that no children be sent to the schoolmaster but can read well in the psalter."

Although so much attention was given to the schools they were designed almost wholly for boys. Small provision was made for the education of girls until many years later. Then it was largely through the efforts of ministers of this parish that they were given fair educational facilities.

Tunefulness in the meetings was another concern of the parish. *"William Ilsley and Joseph Morse, junior, were appointed to tune the psalms in ye meeting house in time of publick worship and take their turn in that work that it may be done with the more ease and cheerfulness. And the said Morse is appointed to sit in the fore seat of the south body with the said William Ilsley for the managing said work."

In 1734 a clock was purchased by the parish and placed in the spire below the bell.

In the care of the sick, the aged, the infirm and the poverty-stricken, it is gathered from existing records, that the church and its minister never lagged.

Some of the early parishioners were slave owners. In 1710 Judge Samuel Sewall published a tract against slavery; but it was not until many years later that slavery was abolished in Massachusetts. William Johnson, Moses Titcomb, Edmund Greenleaf, Esekiel

*Church Records.

Chase and several others reckoned slaves in the sum of their not inconsiderable wealth. These men were among the most esteemed and public spirited in the parish and in the vicinity. In the meeting house, slaves were seated in the most remote and least desirable parts of the galleries where attenuated sounds of the discourse, reaching their ears, undoubtedly saved their souls. It is an interesting fact that Judge John Lowell, only son of the first minister of the parish, caused to be written into the constitution of Massachusetts the clause: "all men are born free and equal." It was this clause which, later, by a decision of the supreme court of the state, caused slavery to be abolished in Massachusetts.

The Newtown was growing. From time to time new streets or lanes were laid out. New and finer houses rose. The ship yards turned out more and larger vessels; trade was increasing. Travel was usually by horse back; but horse-drawn chaises were known. Judge Sewall records in his diary that he drove to Newbury in one. Springless farm wagons lumbered along the public ways; our beautiful High street was a country road, but from time to time a new industry, usually connected with ship building, was started, and there was real activity near the meeting house by the water side. Here a business center was forming.

By 1737 the population of the village had increased so much that it was necessary to enlarge the meeting house. A committee was chosen "with full power to proceed in enlarging said meeting house thirty five foot back in the best method they can. And to agree with workmen to parfect the finishing of s'd house as soon as may be and also to dispose of the Pews to parsons belonging to the Parish in order to defray the charges."

The enlarged building was eighty feet long and sixty feet wide.

*"At that time (1746) the services of the Third Parish on the Lord's day were exceedingly simple, beginning with a long prayer, followed by the singing of a psalm, then by a sermon occupying one to two hours in the delivery, and closing with a short prayer and the benediction. An intermission of an hour was allowed for the mid-day meal. The exercises were then resumed, and the afternoon service proceeded in substantially the same order from the opening prayer to the final benediction."

*Ould Newbury, by John J. Currier.

A succession of affairs occupied the attention of the efficient parish committees. Thus in 1754 the spire was rebuilt "in the same manner & the same Height it was Last year." In this year a price was set for digging graves and for tolling the bell for funerals. Three years later it is recorded that "such Delinquent Proprietors as Neglect to Pay the Taxes of their Respective Pews as the law in that case made & Provided Directs" shall have them sold.

Pew holders may have been lax in paying taxes, but there was a constant demand for pews. The primitive standard of bodily comfort in church, which had provided backless benches for worshipers, was passing. Holders of pews had a little social preeminance over those who sat on benches; and this was perhaps even more highly valued then than now. In 1779 it was voted "to appropriate the whole of the Seats in the front gallery into One Tier of Pews." It was also voted that "two Pews, the one behind the men's Seats, the other behind the Women's Seats, which were improved by a number of Singgres (singers?) shall be sold." The custom of seating the men on one side of the house and the women on the other, save where families sat together in pews, seems to have continued throughout this century.

In 1760, on Sacrament day, the church "voted that the widows of the church be supplied with Psalm Books, tho' not heads of families and all other unmarried communicants." So, it appears, with the gradual introduction of the softer ways that prosperity usually brings to a people, implied by the presence of pews in the meeting house, the vital interests of religion were not neglected.

The congregations of those early years must have reminded the man who stood in the pulpit of Jacob's coat. Coats of blue, green and red partly covered long waistcoats of many colors. Gay bonnets would confront him; and here and there the scarlet cloak of a woman would still further brighten the scene. The wigs and queues that many ministers believed most ungodly, and against which many sermons were preached, were there too. So, though the meeting house walls were plain, there was brightness in the congregations that assembled within them.

CHAPTER III

TROUBLES

Upon Mr. Lowell's occasional absences from his pulpit itinerant and more or less fanatic lay preachers sometimes occupied it. They created disturbances and unrest. The Rev. Christopher Toppan of the Newbury First Parish is said to have carried a whip with him to drive such zealots from "the house of prayer."

An item in the Boston Evening Post of May 3rd, 1742, is quoted by Mr. Coffin. It charges *"the Rev. N. Rogers of Ipswich, Mr. Daniel Rogers and Mr. Buel, candidates for the ministry, with having come into Newbury, formed a party and taken possession of Mr. Lowell's meeting house without his knowledge or asking leave of the proprietors of the house, or the consent of the church or congregation and so forth and that an attempt of the like factious nature was made upon the Rev. Mr. Toppan's meeting, but Mr. Toppan being present the party was repulsed."

This charge was denied by a member of Mr. Toppan's parish, but "J. Lowell" communicated with the paper two weeks later and asserted that the charge was true. Mr. Coffin remarks that he "has not space to give even the title pages of sermons, dialogues, tracts and so forth on religious subjects with which the neighborhood was flooded."

The Rev. Caleb Cushing of Salisbury wrote in 1742 that §"many New Lights and new doctrines and corrupt errors threatened to overrun the country. Indeed, the many trances, visions, and dreams and wild extacies and enthusiastic freaks and phrensies, which have abounded in some places, have cast a great damp on the work and much cooled the firey zealots, and we hope God will in mercy prevent the growth of these errors which seem to be creeping in apace..... and spare his people, and not give his heritage to reproach, &c."

It is recorded that the religious hysteria of the time was more virulent in Newbury and Ipswich than elsewhere in Essex County. So numerous were the zealots that a positive order from the general court was necessary to forbid any but regularly ordained ministers from exhorting the people on Sundays.

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*Sketch of the History of Newbury, Newburyport and West Newbury, by Joshua Coffin.

§Contributions to the Ecclesiastical History of Essex County.

One famous zealot came to the village who was duly authorized to preach. This was the English evangelist, the Rev. George Whitefield. He was the foremost agitator in the so called "Great Awakening," and was obliged to hold many of his meetings in barns or the open air because the pulpits of the conservative clergy were not open to him. Mr. Lowell, usually most liberal, invited him to preach in the meeting house. The invitation was never repeated, although, owing to Whitefield's flaming eloquence one hundred and forty three souls were added to the parish list of communicants.

In Whitefield's diary is the following entry: "Saturday, Octob. 4—Lay at the house of Mr. Lowell, minister of the place—Preached in the morning to a very thronged Congregation, and saw the Outgoing of God in the Sanctuary; Collect, £80, 9s."

*"This astonishing fanatic," says Mr. Noyes, "in his sermon entitled 'The Seed of the Woman and the Seed of the Serpent' classed the people of the First Parish with evil spirits, and is kind enough to inform us that a council of the Trinity was called to decide upon the creation of the lovely creature Eve.....I cannot wonder that stones were thrown at him by men who could not bear his ridicule of women. He was accustomed to stigmatize them as weaker vessels, as the means whereby sin entered into the world, which seems diabolical and cowardly because women at that time were helpless, their public education unprovided for, and they needed elevation, encouragement and enlightenment. His preaching tended only to make them more dependent and craven, so that thereby he might gather them trembling and crushed in spirit into his spiritual shambles."

Thirty men and their families withdrew from the First Parish of Newbury while Mr. Lowell lost thirty-eight men with their families. These formed a Fourth church, long unrecognized, and known as the Presbyterian Schism. It is now known as the Old South Church, and its ancient meeting house, built in 1746, is one of the most interesting buildings in the city. In a vault under the floor lie the bones of Whitefield who did so much for its creation.

This desertion of so many of his people was a great trial to Mr. Lowell. He reproached them for absenting themselves from the

*Oration 150th Anniversary of the Founding of the Parish.

meeting house, and begged them to reconsider their course. In his fine, cramped handwriting he answered their letter of withdrawal: *"I have carefully read and considered your letter to me, dated Oct. 31, 1743. In it you declare that you have withdrawn from communion. I desire now to call a church meeting that you may lay before them your reasons." Later he wrote again: "I am heartily sorry that in this day of temptation you should have been so unmindful of your solemn vows." In these letters he signed himself, "Your affectionate and aggrieved pastor, John Lowell."

In a fragment of a letter from the seceders are these words: "It does not appear to us what reasons you had for expressing yourself to us as you did, or even indeed what mighty grounds for Sorrow you have concerning the justice of Christ's Kingdom thereon among us at this time....."

The discussion tended to grow more acrimonious. A day of fasting and prayer was appointed to consider the difficulties and divisions; but no reconciliation was possible. The Third Parish at this time had 355 members and was prosperous notwithstanding its losses.

Another excitement soon arose. War between England and France was declared in 1744. While it involved nearly all Europe, interest in the colonies, and especially in New England, was confined to the capture of Louisburg in Cape Breton Island. Many Newbury men enlisted in the expedition which was sent out by Governor William Shirley of Massachusetts. They were led by Major Moses Titcomb, of this parish, and did valiant work in the capture of that fortress. When the news of this victory reached Newbury, excitement, already high from religious agitations, reached fever pitch.

There was trouble in the town and the people needed cheer.

Earthquakes, which were of frequent occurrence in the early years of Newbury, were continuing to break windows and shake down chimneys. Unseasonable weather brought frosts that destroyed unripened crops. In one year there was sleighing in October. The next year, 1746, a drought and swarms of caterpillars and "other devouring insects" caused destruction to the hay crop. Because of lack of hay many cattle had to be killed. Others were kept alive by

*Massachusetts Archives.

hay imported from Pennsylvania and even from England. It is no wonder that there were discussions about and accusations of ungodliness which many believed had brought these afflictions to the town.

In 1750 Mr. Lowell gave impetus to wagging tongues by reading selections from the scriptures from his pulpit on Sundays. It was an unheard of innovation and, to some, the ominous shadow of popery was falling over the town.

It will be remembered that the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle restored Louisburg to the French. In 1755 hostilities were renewed for its recapture. In this second expedition sent to Louisburg, Newbury men were again led by Moses Titcomb, now a colonel. Upon his request Mr. Lowell preached a sermon on the eve of their departure. His text was: "For the Lord, your God is he that goeth with you to fight for you against your enemies to save you." In the course of the sermon were these words: "Consider whether it is not worth while to contend for liberty, not ours only, but that of all Europe and America, which is this day struck at by the French openly, or subtilely undermined.

"Would you be under a despotic prince? Would you wear wooden shoes? Would you be dragooned and perpetually pillaged? Would you see an end to law, and everything depend upon the will of him that holds such power over you? Is not slavery in these respects a terrible thing? But to have the mind enslaved is infinitely worse. Papacy, a religion full of absurdities and superstitions, cruelty and blood is carried everywhere with the success of France .....Shed no more blood than is absolutely necessary, use no sort of inhumanity..... punish only the guilty."

Men sent to battle with such words ringing in their ears could scarcely fail, if they returned, to return victorious. Many of the Newbury men did return, but Colonel Titcomb, the parish hero, was slain in battle. Mr. Lowell preached his funeral sermon from the text: "Moses, my servant, is dead."

The Titcomb family were prominent in the parish for many generations and furnished fighting men in all the early wars.

When Quebec was captured, bringing peace to the colonies, the people held their rejoicings in the shadow of the meeting house. They killed an ox, dressed and broiled it on the huge gridiron on

vacant land on its north side, and after the feast songs were sung and speeches made.

An event of 1754, of which the parish could not have known the significance, was the shattering of the meeting house spire by a bolt of lightning. Benjamin Franklin, who was traveling in this vicinity, visited the town to study the damage. The following extract is from a letter which he wrote in regard to it. It is dated from Philadelphia and was read before the Royal Society in London.

"In my late journey I saw an instance of a very great quantity of lightning conducted by a wire no bigger than a common knitting needle. It was at Newbury, in New England, where the spire of the church steeple, being seventy feet in height above the belfry, was split all to pieces, and thrown about the streets in fragments. From the bell down to the clock, placed in the steeple, 20 feet below the bell, there was a small wire, above mentioned, which communicated the motion of the clock to the hammer striking the hour on the bell .....The clock wire was blown all to smoke, and smutted the church wall, which it passed in a broad, black tract, and also the ceiling under which it was carried.....

(Signed) Benjamin Franklin."

Franklin wrote other letters in regard to this incident. He observed in one: "that lightning in its passage through a building will leave wood to pass as far as it can in metal." The identity of electricity and lightning and the invention of lightning rods are attributable to the shattered spire of the Third Parish meeting house in Newbury.

CHAPTER IV

THE REV. JOHN LOWELL

In 1764 the growing differences between Newbury old town and Newbury new town brought about the political separation of the two. The new town was named Newburyport and the old Third Parish of Newbury became the First Parish of Newburyport.

Enterprise in business, concern for education, patriotism in public affairs and a considerable development in social amenities marked life in the newly incorporated town. In mind, in character, in scholarship and in all those collective qualities that constitute personality Mr. Lowell had been equal to the demands of a growing and prosperous community. During his ministry 517 persons were received into full communion and 2229 were baptised. He had "a tender and affectionate concern for his people." They came to him with their joys and sorrows and he was cognizant of their sins. In the record book kept by him are names of persons readmitted to good standing in the church after slips from the prescribed rightness of conduct had debarred them from the enjoyment of full membership.

*"Both Parson and Madam Lowell were assiduous in advancing the spiritual and intellectual welfare of the parish. At that period the minister's lady was preeminently the head of feminine society. Madam Lowell won eulogiums from old and young, rich and poor. She was a woman of rare culture and accomplishments for the day."

To which Mrs. Lowell this description refers is uncertain. It probably fitted both. Mrs. Sarah Champney Lowell died in 1756. Two years later Mr. Lowell married Mrs. Elizabeth Whipple, widow of the Rev. Joseph Whipple of Hampton Falls. The first Mrs. Lowell was the mother of two sons. One died in infancy; the other became the Hon. John Lowell, a most active worker for representative government in Massachusetts, a member of the General Court in 1776, a framer of the Massachusetts constitution, a member of the Continental Congress in 1782-3, and the recipient of an appointment as United States circuit judge in 1789. The descendants of Judge Lowell have been, and are, among the country's most distinguished authors, educators and professional men.

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*From Reminiscences of a Nonagenarian, by Sarah Ann Emery.

One of the last acts recorded of the Rev. John Lowell was that of opening a new school with prayer. He admonished the pupils to be reverent and obedient to the master. He died May 15th, 1767, in the sixty-fourth year of his life, the foremost and finest citizen of Newburyport. There was sincere mourning for him. His funeral sermon was preached by the Rev. John Tucker of the First Parish of Newbury who said in part: "He was endowed with good natural powers, which he improved with study, under the advantages of a liberal education.....and if in some matters of a disputable nature, he differed in religious opinions from some of his brethren, yet he was far from bigotry and censoriousness; and as he advanced in life he evidently grew in a Catholic and charitable temper."

Nearly sixty years later the Hon. Caleb Cushing wrote that *"he was generous and hospitable in disposition, peculiarly amiable in all the social and domestic relations, and distinguished as a sound scholar and examplary divine. The tolerant and catholic spirit which he displayed on doctrinal points gave him the reputation of inclining a little more to liberality of tenets than was usual among the clergy of his time who still retained much of the rigid faith of their ancesters."

§"It was only during the controversy that divided his church that human nature, aided by the spirit and legislation of the times betrayed him into anything like illiberality.....The following fact is illustrative of his disposition to maintain the individual rights of conscience. Before the middle of the last century (18th) a council was called to consider the expediency of dismissing †Mr. Barnard, third minister of the second church in Newbury, now first in West Newbury. Its expediency was determined on, and the question occurred of giving him a recommendation as a minister. To this one of the council objected 'unless it should be ascertained, on inquiry, that Mr. Barnard was a believer in the doctrine of the Trinity.' Mr. Lowell rose, with much emotion, and addressing the moderator said: 'If that question is put, sir, I shall leave the room, and take no more part in this council.' The question was not put."

Decorating a panel which was over the fireplace in his study, was

*History of Newburyport, Published 1825, by Caleb Cushing.
§History of Newburyport, Mrs. E. Vale Smith.
†Thomas Barnard, accused of some unbecoming conduct.

a painting of what is believed to represent a ministers' meeting. Seven gentlemen, with huge white wigs, flowing gowns and white bands, sit about a table that is placed in an alcove. On the table are a Bible, candles, a bowl that might contain tobacco and several pipes. Over the top of the alcove is the motto *"In necessariis, unitas; in non-necessariis, libertas; in utrisque, charitas,—which may be translated thus: In essentials, unity; in non-essentials, liberty; in both, charity. Who painted this picture and whether the faces are likenesses or not is more than we can tell. The work is rude enough. The artist seems to have had a sovereign contempt for the laws of perspective. The Bible stands inclined a little, without any support; and the most natural things about the picture are the pipes and wigs."

A later minister of the parish, the Rev. Thomas Wentworth Higginson, secured this panel from the owners of the old house and gave it to James Russell Lowell, a descendant of the original owner.

Mr. Lowell was buried in the Old Hill Burying Ground. The following inscription is on his monument:

"Here lies buried the body of the Rev. John Lowell M. A., late pastor of the Congregational Society in Newburyport. He was born in Boston, March 14, 1703, educated at Harvard in the University of Cambridge, where he took his degree anno 1721, and was settled in the ministry of the gospel Jan. 19, 1726. He was a gentleman well skilled in the learned languages, of great reading and extensive knowledge, and of conspicuous piety and virtue, and of talents peculiarly adapted to the ministerial office. While he lived he was highly respected and beloved by his people, for whose welfare he had a tender and affectionate concern, and was honored and greatly lamented by them when he died, which was on Friday morning, May 15, 1767, in the 64th year of his age and the 42nd of his pastoral office.

"This monument, erected to his memory by the unanimous voice of the people of his charge, testifies to the world their grateful remembrance of his faithful services."

The grateful remembrance of the parish also found expression by voting an annuity of thirty pounds a year to Mrs. Lowell,

*From Currier's History of Newburyport.

granting her permission to sit in the minister's pew tax free, and the right of pasturage for her cow in the common lands.

After his father's death John Lowell sold the parsonage to Patrick Tracy, one of the merchant princes of the town. John Lowell bought an estate on High street and for many years was one of Newburyport's most distinguished and public spirited citizens. Mr. Tracy removed the Lowell house to Temple street where it is still standing. On the lot it had occupied he built a large brick mansion which, in later years, had the honor of sheltering George Washington and also at other times Jefferson and Lafayette. This house is now the Public Library of Newburyport. Thus, from the town's earliest days this site has been one of social distinction and learning.

CHAPTER V

MR. CARY AND MR. ANDREWS

Mr. Lowell had led the parish through its formation years. He had imbued it with toleration, but after his death some members began to fear that the church "was slowly moving along the way of doctrinal defection." Finding themselves on this strange way, without their leader, they began to doubt that its end was salvation, and retreated to the well known ground of strict Calvinism. It was two years before an agreement could be reached between the ever more widely dividing factions. Then they agreed to disagree.

*"It should be mentioned as a gratifying circumstance, that the separation of the third from the first society was made in the most amiable manner. Messrs. Cary and Marsh had both been candidates for settlement in the first parish. About one third of the parish preferred §Mr. Marsh. The majority then observed to the minority: 'You prefer Mr. Marsh, we Mr. Cary. If you wish to settle Mr. Marsh and build a meeting house we will assist you and give you half of the church plate'."

So the matter was settled. For the next few years the members of these churches were called, in good humored jests, Cary chickens and Marsh birds. According to the record book of the parish one half the church plate was given to the new church. Nor was the generosity wholly on the part of the First Parish. Despite the expense of building a new meeting house, members of the new church levied a tax upon themselves to help raise the thirty pounds the First Parish had voted to pay to the widow of their late and beloved pastor, the Rev. John Lowell.

This was the one instance in the early history of Newbury and Newburyport when the separation of a church from an older one was effected without acrimonious discussion. The new society, the Third Church of Newburyport, was usually called the North Church, and it became one of the important churches of the town. The membership of the First Parish, under Mr. Cary, gradually increased for twenty years or more. Its largest membership was about 2,000.

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*Sketch of the History of Newbury, Newburyport and West Newbury, by Joshua Coffin.

§The Rev. Christopher Marsh, first pastor of the North Church, 1768-1773.

Thomas Cary was born in Charlestown, October 18th, 1745. He was educated at Harvard and was ordained minister of the First Parish on May 11th, 1768.

*"The sermon at the ordination of Mr. Cary was preached by Edward Barnard of Haverhill, Mass., who had much previous intimacy with him, and much care over his education. Mr. Barnard's sermon was not doctrinal, indeed it is almost to be wished that the Congregational ministers had more clearly defined their position. It would seem as if they studiously avoided this. Perhaps they did not feel deep enough conviction on certain points, about which now, at least, there is no difficulty in forming or expressing an opinion, or perhaps they did not realize the immense width of the gulf between the doctrine of atonement by purchase, and salvation by precept and example. The sermon must be called Arian; it certainly was not Trinitarian. It is rather a remarkable coincidence that the text was in part from the same passages as the text of the ordination of Mr. Lowell, viz., II Corinthians, v. 15-18."

Mr. Cary's salary was fixed at 100 pounds a year and the use of a parsonage. Twenty-five pounds a year were added to it very soon. It reached extravagant heights in the depreciated currency of revolutionary times and some years later was settled at 300 pounds in specie. In 1775 Mr. Cary married Miss Esther Carter, a daughter of Nathaniel Carter, one of the leading residents of the town.

Soon after he took up his duties in the parish the new minister became known as a rational, or moderate Calvinist, §"although in so styling him more emphasis should be laid upon the moderate and less upon the Calvinist." From this same source comes the information that such moderate Calvinism was named, in this vicinity, Merrimack Divinity, or Merrimack Theology.

From the earliest days of this ministry the troubles that led to the Revolutionary war were thickening. The town chose a committee of safety, in which many prominent members of the parish served, †"to consult and advise with each other & if need be to communicate to the Town any measure that may appear conducive to the public

*Oration of Amos Noyes, 150th Anniversary of Founding of the Parish.
§Contributions to the Ecclesiastical History of Essex County.
†From the town records, copied from the History of Newburyport, by John J. Currier.

Benefit, more especially to be watchful that no Encroachments are made on our Constitutional Rights and Liberties, that we may enjoy the blessings that we have left, in Peace, and not be deprived of them from any Quarter but may devise & prosecute the most vigorous and reasonable measures, as far as lies in our sphere, to retrieve our former Privileges."

Mr. Cary opened some of the public meetings, held to consider such matters, with prayer. In the ship yards, near the meeting house, many frigates and hundreds of privateers were built. Many of these latter were owned by members of the parish. Thus Patrick Tracy and his son, Nathaniel, owned 110 vessels at the beginning of the war and 23 letters of marque. These captured 120 enemy vessels from which the government received $167,219 for army supplies. Many of the officers and men in such vessels were of the parish, heroes of gallant sea fights. The drilling of troops and the arrival and departure of companies, the burning of tea in the shadow of the meeting house, instigated by a member of the parish, and the unrecorded incidents and preparations of the time all involved the members, and often the minister, of the first and largest congregation in the growing and patriotic town.

*"In almost no part of the country did the people enter more zealously into the Great War of Independence than in the towns around the mouth of the Merrimack river. Nor, with a single exception, did the ministers fail to encourage them in their noble and patriotic work." This exception was a minister of East Haverhill.

While patriotism waxed, political excitements multiplied; disasters and occasional triumphs threw the people into alarms and rejoicings, but religious controversies languished. With the coming of peace they began to emerge from their temporary eclipse. The theological doctrines taught by Dr. Samuel Hopkins, of which, perhaps, election and eternity of punishment were the picturesque tenets which caught the popular imagination, caused some members to lose confidence in milder doctrines of the parish and withdraw; but the parish gained new members, nevertheless, and still retained the largest congregation in town.

In 1779 Mrs. Esther Carter Cary died, leaving a two years old son, Thomas. In 1783 Mr. Cary married Miss Deborah Prince of

*Contributions to the Ecclesiastical History of Essex County.

Exeter, New Hampshire. In the diary of the Rev. William Bentley, D. D., of Salem, who traveled and wrote much of his travels, is this entry: "Mr. Cary, the congregational minister (of Newburyport) preached on Thursday at his own home. A pious and rational discourse. He is a man of wealth and kind manners, as a better acquaintance shows." About two years later Dr. Bentley came to Newburyport again. He writes: "On Sunday Mr. J (ackman) very politely waited upon me to the Meeting House in which the preachers are the Messrs. Cary and Andrews. The assembly is the best in Newburyport, including the best families. The weather was very bad & therefore did not admit a general attendance. The building has nothing to recommend it."

More and more frequently entries are found in the church books that refer to pews and seats. It is obvious that the demand for pews was steadily increasing. In 1765 the cellar under the house was cleared, and a committee appointed to let it "for the benefit of the Proprietory." There is no further entry regarding this matter until 1787 when a committee was desired to collect rents due, and "see that no more tarr or pickled fish be allowed to be put in the cellar in the future and that the cellar be cleared of the Tarr now in it." So the evidence accumulates that the slow rout of Calvinism was accompanied in this parish by a loss of the hardy endurance of uncomfortable seats and objectional odors.

Theophilus Parsons was a member of the parish in these closing years of the 18th century. He was a lawyer of wide and distinguished reputation, a member of the famous Essex Junto and later became chief justice of the supreme court of Massachusetts. Several young men of unusual abilities came to Newburyport to study law in his office. Among them was John Quincy Adams. Mr. Adams kept a diary of his experiences here which has been published under the title "Annals of a Country Town." In this book he wrote of Mr. Cary: "This gentleman is a good preacher; appears extremely indolent. His manner is also far from graceful."

This young man visited all of the churches in the vicinity; and his piquant comments upon the preachers and sermons are most entertaining. A week after first listening to Mr. Cary he wrote: "Attended upon Mr. Cary the whole day. His manner is not very

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agreeable; but his stile is much better than common." On a later Sunday he "attended Mr. Cary's meeting all day. In the forenoon he was quite severe upon all persons who either did not attend divine services so steadily as they might, or who, being in the house of the Lord, do not behave with proper respect. No person, said Mr. Cary, who is going into the presence of an earthly prince, will appear in a loose, neglected attire, as it would be considered as a mark of contempt, and as an insult to the dignity of the sovereign. Hence, he deduced the necessity of a serious, devout, attentive mind, at times when we go intimately into the presence of God. His conclusion, were it placed as a distinct proposition, no one, I presume, would deny; but his perfectly stale and hackney'd allusion is, in my opinion, not only false but impious. I would ask Mr. Cary, why it is necessary to appear with such accurate precision of dress at the court of an earthly prince? What other cause can be assigned for a thing so very different in itself, but the ridiculous vanity and fantastic foppery of the great? It is impossible to deduce an argument from similarity of effect, unless a like similarity of causes exists, and in this case the supposition is not to be made. In short, if our preachers in general would not take so much pains as they do to prove facts which no man in his senses can deny, they would save themselves much exertion of thought, without injuring their reputations."

The Rev. Samuel Spring was considered the most brilliant preacher in town. He had succeeded Mr. Marsh at the North Church. He was a man of great energy, and eloquence and had been chaplain in the army of Benedict Arnold in the campaign against Quebec. The diary has this to say of him: "This afternoon I went with Townsend, and attended Mr. Spring's lecture. I was much better pleased than I expected to be with this gentleman's preaching. His sentiments are extremely contracted and illiberal, and he maintains them with the zeal and enthusiasm of a bigot, but his delivery is very agreeable, and I believe his devotion sincere. Although I shall never be a convert to his principles, I will not condemn them as impious or heretical.

"Jan. 27th, 1788, Heard Parson Cary the whole day. In the forenoon he was intolerably long, as the weather was very cold."

The indolence of Mr. Cary, noted when Mr. Adams heard him first, may have been due to ill health. On Sunday morning, March 9th, 1788, directly after the morning service, he was stricken with palsy. On the next Sunday the young diarist tells us that there were no services in the meeting house because of the illness of Parson Cary. Again on the 3rd of April there was no service; but on the next Sunday "Parson Cary got out to meeting this forenoon; but he was still so weak that the effort was too great. He was scarcely able to get through the morning exercises; and in the afternoon the church was again destitute. I went to hear *Parson Murrey rattle away upon disinterested benevolence, and pass'd the evening at home."

Mr. Cary never wholly recovered from this attack, although he was able to preach occasionally. It was necessary to procure a colleague. §"His conduct upon the settlement of a colleague was generous and under the circumstances heroic. He insisted upon relinquishing a portion of the gratuity which the church had voted him, and acquiesed cheerfully in having a colleague."

Before such a helper could be selected the pulpit was empty occasionally on a Sunday; although it was usually supplied by some preacher from out of town. Among these was John Andrews, a friend and Harvard classmate of John Quincy Adams. In the diary is the following entry regarding him: "I attended meeting all day, and heard Mr. Andrews. He speaks very well, and his composition was, I believe, generally pleasing. I sometimes think that he mistakes his genius and imagines that his fancy is lively and his first thoughts best; while in truth his conception is naturally slow, and he ought to study greatly his writings. He was this day very brilliant in his expressions and flowery in his periods; but his thoughts were rather too much in the common run, and this fault I have frequently observed in his pieces."

On May fourth, a week later is the following entry: "I heard Mr. Andrews preach, his sermons were both very short; but better, I think, than those he delivered last Sunday. His text was 'If they believe not Moses and the prophets neither would they be persuaded though one rose from the dead.' Pickman observed that there

*The Rev. John Murrey of the First Presbyterian Church.

§Amos Noyes, Oration 150th Anniversary of the Founding of the Parish.

was a sermon of Archbishop Tilloton from the same text, and the similarity is such as proves that Mr. Andrews had read it; though not so great as to charge him with plagiarism. However the people in this town are so bigoted that a man of Mr. Andrews' liberal religious sentiments will not be half so popular a preacher as one who would rant and rave and talk nonsense for an hour together in his Sermon."

Nevertheless the people of the First Parish did choose John Andrews to assist Mr. Cary; and the third notable pastorate of the parish was begun. Mr. Andrews was born in Hingham and, like his predecessors, was educated at Harvard. He was ordained as associate pastor on December 10th, 1788. The sermon on this occasion was by the Rev. Timothy Hillard, minister of the First Church at Cambridge. *"His discourse condemns doctrinal sermons. It professed to believe in the miracles and prophecies as stated in the Old and New Testaments, but neither this sermon nor the charge of Rev. Mr. Shute of Hingham were Calvinistic. These discourses and the eighteen churches participating in the council were Arian Congregational, among them being the first three churches of Newbury. Rev. Dr. Tucker, the Arian minister of the First Church of Newbury, made the allusion to Mr. Cary in giving the right hand of fellowship to Mr. Andrews and said:

"We rejoice with you in his excellent accomplishments for that important station and employment, and from the apparent strength and firmness of his constitution we hoped with you for a long continuance as a rich blessing to his people. But what a melancholy alteration in his state and yours! How is the gold become dim and the fine gold changed."

Following in the steps of his predecessors, Mr. Andrews soon brought a bride to his parsonage. He was married in Cambridge, September 9, 1789, to Miss Margaret Wigglesworth, only daughter of Dr. Edward Wigglesworth, professor of divinity at Harvard.

Although the churches in the vicinity participated in this ordination the clergy were becoming sharply divided on some doctrinal points. There was a reaction against liberal tendencies. §"When a pulpit is vacated by the removal of an Arian, or a semi-

*Amos Noyes, Oration 150th Anniversary of founding of Parish.
§Contributions to the Ecclesiastical History of Essex County.

Arian it is somehow pretty sure to be filled by a man of a more orthodox stamp. There begins to be more of what is called 'metaphysical preaching,'—which means, more discriminating and logical and pungent preaching. The fruits of the change will in due time appear." This was written of the decade 1791 to 1801.

In the first year of this decade the Rev. William Bentley of Salem again visited Newburyport and records in his diary: "I visited the Rev'd Cary, & had familiar conversation on the unhappy disunion among the clergy of the Town. They utterly refuse each other civilities, at least a Mr. Spring will not support a pall, or attend a funeral at which *Mr. Murrey joins or officiates."

In February, 1794, the parish was incorporated by the name of the First Religious Society in Newburyport, for the purpose of holding real estate and other property. It was the largest, most influential and wealthiest church in the town. Among the parishioners were such men as Theophilus Parsons, Theophilus Bradbury, lawyer and a justice of the supreme court of Massachusetts, Nathaniel Tracy, merchant prince, Col. Edward Wigglesworth, a redoubtable soldier of the Revolution, Jonathan Jackson, owner of privateers during the war and patriot, Judge Joseph Greenleaf, the Carters, grandees of the town, the Marquands, ship masters and owners of vessels that had brought in many prizes during the war, and Dr. Micajah Sawyer, an accomplished scholar and leading physician. The parish list is too long to be repeated. Many of the names are forgotten now; but there are many that will never be forgotten as long as Newburyport remains, and several whose reputations still live far beyond the bounds of the town. A Newburyport man, believed to have been a member of this parish, was the first to show the new American flag on the Thames river.

Inhibitions that held many to old ways were not greatly regarded by leading members of this parish. The Morning Star, a Newburyport paper of that time, carried on a November morning in 1794 the following item: §"Tomorrow the elegant organ now erecting in the Meeting House of the First Society in this town will be completed; on which occasion a discourse will be delivered and

*The Rev. John Murrey, Second Pastor of the First Presbyterian Church.
§Copied from the History of Newburyport by John J. Currier.

several pieces of sacred music performed by one of the first organists in these parts. This organ, which is certainly the most elegant in New England, is about fifteen feet high, ten feet in breadth, and seven feet from front to rear, was built by Dr. Josiah Leavitt, an ingenious organ builder of Boston, for whose benefit there will be a contribution after service is over, which is to begin at precisely half past two in the afternoon."

*"The organ was for those days a large and handsome instrument. Round the top of the pipes were festoons of crimson silk, above them, in large letters, was the motto—'Praise Him with an Organ.' This remarkable innovation greatly shocked the more rigid, and the new instrument became the chief topic of conversation in town and country, in the commercial mart, and by the domestic hearth. It was denominated a 'popist fiddle.' Much was said about the 'tooting tub' and 'sarving the Devil' on an organ, while the Rev. Samuel Spring of the North Church, discoursed most disdainfully respecting 'our neighbor's box of whistles'."

Two years before the organ was purchased it was voted to devote a sum not exceeding thirty-six pounds "to be used to procure a Singing Master for a term not Exceeding Six months to instruct such of the parish as are inclined & in the opinion of such Master are Capable of learning to sing, and to hire a room & procure Such Books as they judge necessary for the purpose."

So singers of some training were ready to add their voices to the organ notes and produce better music than could be heard elsewhere in the town. Still, the organ was looked upon by some as an unholy instrument. This, and the growing liberalism of Mr. Andrews, and perhaps the slowly forming determination to build a new meeting house, a great expense, turned some away from the society. Brief notices of intentions to leave it are recorded for the years 1798, 1799 and 1800. However, partly to offset these notices others are occasionally received from persons who desire to be numbered and taxed as members of the parish.

In these closing years of the 18th century, when church going was still almost universal, Newburyport reached its zenith in wealth, culture, social and commercial importance. The congregation that assembled in the old meeting house was a distinguished one indeed.

*Reminiscences of a Nonagenarian by Sarah Ann Emery.

In the parish records of this period there are several entries similar to the following: "April 1st, 1798, Voted that Mr. Ebenezer Cutting be desired to sett up in the Gallery to keep the Boys in order and he be excused for taxes for his services."

In the same year that the organ was purchased the parish raised thirty-three pounds and fourteen shillings to send to sufferers from a disastrous fire in Boston.

CHAPTER VI

THE NEW MEETING HOUSE
TEARING DOWN THE OLD

As early as 1785 a committee had been appointed to examine the condition of the now old meeting house. It was showing signs of much use and decay. Three years earlier the spire had been blown down in a gale, bringing to the ground the copper weathercock that surmounted it, so worn on its high perch that the maker's name could not be deciphered. The committee reported that repairs were needed; but none seem to have been made until 1794 when the organ was installed. The building was growing more and more dilapidated. In 1798 a petition, headed by the name of Theophilus Parsons, was presented to the proprietors to see if they "will conclude to build a new house of worship for said society," and also "to determine upon such measures as they shall think necessary for the building of said new house, for purchasing land, whereon to erect the same, and for all other purposes relating thereto, and also to choose such committees to make such estimates and reports relating to the premises as such committees may be empowered to make and to receive and act upon such estimates and reports."

One of these committees was to examine the proprietors' title to the land under and adjoining the meeting house. Another committee was to see "what place or places can be obtained whereon to build a meeting house and on what terms, and what sum may be obtained for the old Meeting House and land under and adjoining same, provided a Title with warranty, be given by the Proprietors."

The first committee reported in December that "they find no vote or grant respecting the land covered by the meeting house, but the Proprietors, having been in quiet and peaceable possession of the same for more than sixty years, they have acquired a good, lawful and complete title thereof. The triangular piece of land adjoining the northwesterly side of said house was purchased by the Proprietors of Jeremiah Pearson and others on the 21st day of August 1765, as by their deed of warranty appears."

The second committee selected a site on the newly laid out Pleasant street, which was called the "Rock Lot" because its surface was nearly covered by a ledge. That the new building should rise

on a solid rock foundation seemed a hopeful augury for its long and strong continuance. There was much discussion to decide whether its walls should be of brick or wood; but eventually wood was chosen. The lot was purchased of Miss Elizabeth Greenleaf by a committee whose instructions were that the "price was not to exceed six pounds, fifteen shillings c'rry. per rod." Its size was "nine rods in front and nine rods and thirteen links in depth."

It was noted by Mr. Nathan N. Withington, in his oration commemorating the centenary of the building, that this is the last time in the church records that English currency is designated.

A prolonged discussion with the authorities of the town was held the next spring. The church land was wanted for a public square, and it was offered the town for $8,000. This was more than the town could raise. It appointed a committee to present a petition to the legislature asking permission to run a lottery to raise money to purchase the church land, but the legislature frowned upon the project and gave the committee permission to withdraw its petition. Through more creditable ways the town raised $4,400 and interested and generous citizens contributed the remaining $3,600.

In voting to sell their property the proprietors reserved from the sale "the Cellar Wall and Underpinning of the said House, the Materials of which the Pews are built, the Bell, Clocks, Organ, Electrical Rod and Weathercock." The sale of land was at length arranged, the proprietors reserving the right to keep "said house on said land for the purpose of Public Worship therein until the first day of November, 1801, and shall be allowed a reasonable time thereafter to remove the same with the cellar wall &c."

A building committee of four men, Hon. Theophilus Bradbury, Esq., Captain James Kettell, John Greenleaf and Leonard Smith, was ordered to build a house "with a cellar, a Portico, or piazza and a handsome Belfry or Spire." Apparently at this time the plans for the new building were on hand, but the architect's name was not on them, nor has it ever been found on bills, records or memoranda connected with the building of this church which is now the architectural pride and treasure of Newburyport. It is believed that he may have been Timothy Palmer, a brother of the senior member of the contracting firm, Palmer and Spofford, who built the church. Timothy Palmer was widely known for his taste and mechanical

skill. He was the designer of the first Essex-Merrimack bridge, a notable structure, built on a new principle for which he secured a United States patent, and which was used for the construction of many important bridges in New England and elsewhere.

*"The record goes on: 'In pursuance of the laudable practice of our pious predecessors, and in imitation of their wise and virtuous attachment to the best Interests of man Illustrated by the foundation of this Parish, by the erecting a house for the public worship of God, and by their honorable support of the teachers of piety, religion and morality—It is

'Voted, That this propriety will erect a new Meeting House as a Place of Public worship for the First Religious Society of Newburyport on some suitable Plot of ground to be hereafter purchased for that purpose, and it is further

'Voted, that Messrs. Ebenezer Stocker, Nathan Hoyt and Joshua Carter be a committee for providing said place of Public Worship, and for this purpose they and the major part of them are hereby authorized and empowered at the cost of this Propriety to purchase such parcel of land as this Propriety may hereafter direct, and thereupon to build, finish and complete a Meeting House of such materials and of such form, in such manner and of such dimentions as this propriety may direct'."

The committee thus officially empowered were to secure the best contracts they could, to work in the materials reserved from the old house and to permit purchasers of pews to contribute labor, or materials in part payment for them.

The legal business connected with the sale of the old property, the purchase of land and the erection of a new building was competently and minutely executed. With two of the most eminent lawyers of the state, Theophilus Parsons and Theophilus Bradbury, interested in the project, this was to be expected. It was the former who secured an act of the General Court which declared that "the sale of the old meeting house and land shall not in any manner affect the existence of the First Religious Society of Newburyport as a corporation, nor its powers, rights or duties; but the same corporation shall be deemed and holden in the law to have the same existence and

*Oration of Nathan N. Withington at observance of centenary of the building.

continuance with the same rights, powers and duties it now has, whether the members whereof attend the public worship of God in the old meeting house afore said, or in the new meeting house as afore said."

The construction of the new house took somewhat over a year. As it neared completion it became the wonder and pride of the town. On the occasion of its centenary celebration in 1901 Herbert D. Hale, son of Edward Everett Hale, and an architect, paid it a high tribute. He said: "There is something quaint and old fashioned about this church interior. Somehow it takes us completely away from the mad rush of today and from modern improvements of every kind that we have left behind us this morning in the city..... Certain it is that architectural effect has combined to give quiet and repose in this excellent example of Colonial work.....The outside of the church shows careful and thorough study of the old Classical orders. The three large doors give ample access to the congregation coming in and going out, the use of the Doric pilasters is very effective and is charmingly placed. Large Corinthian pilasters reach up from the base of the building toward the roof and above rises the spire, one of the most perfect I have ever seen. Rows of Ionic columns rise upon Ionic columns to the spire which tapers off gracefully to the sky. The sense of proportion is manifest everywhere in this design and this should always be so in good architectural design."

The first entry in the expense account for the new building was dated July 2nd, 1800. It reads: "To cash paid, liquor for people getting out stone."

*"Shortly after work was begun the assessors of the parish were directed to make out a list of pews of floor and galleries in the old house as a basis for estimating the claim of each proprietor to the proceeds of the sale." At the same time a committee was appointed to §"estimate the cost of their new house of public worship now in building and the lot it stands on, and to apportion the same upon all pews therein excepting such as may be reserved for the use of the minister, according to their relative situation on the lower Floor and

*§Oration of Nathan N. Withington, Centenary Observance of the Building.

in the Galleries respectively, which apportionment shall be considered as their prime cost, and they shall lodge such estimates and apportionments with the proprietors' clerk to be filed in his office and to be recorded in the Proprietors' Book of Records, and all taxes hereafter to be raised on said pews by said Proprietors or by said Religious Society shall be assessed thereon agreeably to said apportionments."

It is shown by the records that all of the pews in the old house, save that of the minister, were private property. They are described as "handsomely balustraded," so it seems that some elegancies did invade the old meeting house. In both houses the pews were numbered to 106. In the old house there were six classes of pews valued at $30, $24, $23, $22, $21 and $20 respectively. All but one of the gallery pews were owned. These were valued at $7, save one valued at $10 and one at $6.

In the new meeting house the pews were divided into five classes, and the estimated cost of these was $165, $145, $130, $120 and $100 respectively. *"Those of the lower class mostly brought their apprised value, though Henry Rolfe paid $116 for one. The pews of the first class sold well, the highest price, $230, having been paid by John Greenleaf for pew No. 12 and he also paid $221 for pew No. 11. All of the pews on the floor, except the minister's pew and one other, were sold at the valuation or more and all in the gallery except three."

The whole cost of the building was $26,750.10, according to the accounts kept and audited and accepted.

In the Newburyport Herald and County Gazette of the September 29th, 1801 issue, is the following item: "On Sunday last a crowded audience assembled in the old Congregational Meeting House for the last time, where, after an appropriate discourse in the forenoon by the Rev. John Andrews, the senior pastor (the Rev. Thomas Cary) delivered a closing discourse from the 2nd verse of the 63rd psalm—'To see thy power and thy glory, so as I have seen thee in the sanctuary.' His conversation was impressive and affecting, replete with sound doctrine and christian precept—the scene

*All of the information in regard to the pews is taken from the oration of Mr. Nathan N. Withington, delivered at the centenary celebration of the building.

was solemn and interesting and peculiarly so to the elders of the church who met to take their last farewell of the 'venerable mansion' where they have weekly assembled for a long succession of years to meet and offer up their devotion to that Being 'in whom there are no variableness or the least shadow of change'."

Miss Sarah Emery gathered her knowledge of the last service in the old meeting house from her mother's remembrance of it. She wrote: *"As the old and invalid pastor and his young colleague entered, the deacons and tithingmen were in their places; the house filled and grew quiet.

"The beloved old pastor rose after the opening exercises and with much of his youthful eloquence, preached from the 63rd psalm, 2nd verse.....He spoke of our dependence upon the Creator, of our social duties and privileges, of the delight and profit of thus assembling together for worship and expressed the hope that, though the house was soon to be levelled with the dust, it should not be finally lost to any but remain in the happy effect of an attendance there. His concluding sentences were: 'I may not finish without observing, that according to the service and thoughtful disposition with which you leave the old house, you may hope, through Christ, for acceptance into the new one, and I pray God that he may beautify his temple, far beyond those decorations of art which give it so splendid an external appearance, and which attract our notice with so very sensible a pleasure.

" 'May we bear in mind that it is not long that any of us can worship in the sanctuary below; but, blessed be our God, "there is a house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens." There may we carry our views; for that estate be ripening. God of his infinite mercy, grant that we all meet at last in the heavenly mansions and be of that happy number who shall stand at the right hand of Christ, and spend a blissful eternity together.' These grave words from a stricken pastor, heard in the doomed building, are said to have saddened the congregation so that they left the building in tearful silence."

So, on that late Sunday afternoon in September, as the people walked in subdued groups to their homes, probably many stopped

*Reminiscences of a Nonagenarian.

for a last look at the shabby house, whose meetings had been not only an elevating influence but for some the unfailing break in the monotony of an otherwise eventless week. For some days before this Sunday an advertisement had appeared in successive issues of the Newburyport Herald and County Gazette. It announced:

"FOR SALE AT PUBLIC AUCTION
On Tuesday, 29th inst.
The old Meeting House of the
First Religious Society in Newburyport
in such lots as will suit purchasers.
Sale at XI o'clock when conditions
will be made known.
James Kettell, Auct."

The land had been sold. *"The next day the steeple was taken down, the pulpit and pews removed, and a few days later the heavy timbers supporting the roof were cut away and the whole structure fell to the ground."

Miss Emery tells a more dramatic story. She says that all the morning of that day people were hurrying to the market place to see the demolition of the meeting house. At length §"the supports were removed, save at one corner of the building, a hawser was placed around that post and a band of sailors with 'a long pull a strong pull and a pull altogether' brought the large building to the ground amidst a cloud of dust and the huzzahs of the multitude."

So passed the old meeting house. The purchasers carted away such parts of its materials as they had chosen. No building has ever been raised on its site. It had been the scene of weddings, funerals and baptisms that touched the lives of most of the town's people. For seventy-six years it had overlooked the waterfront where Newburyport's epic industry, ship building, was developing. It had been built and almost wholly maintained by profits of this and allied industries. It had been a familiar and welcome sight for returning sailors. Around it had grown up a market place. Facing its spire, says †Miss Emery, "was an irregular line of butchers shambles" while on its north side had been nailed a row of wooden troughs for oats. In

*History of Newburyport by John J. Currier.
§†Reminiscences of a Nonagenarian.

these, horses of out-of-town farmers fed while produce was being sold from the wagons behind them. Men had marched by this old building to war; patriotic meetings had been held within it, its bell not only called the people to Sunday services, but it had sounded alarms and curfews; it had pealed for liberty and had rung for the visit of Gov. John Hancock. It had announced the coming of George Washington to the town. The weather cock, 140 feet high, had veered in the winds that sent well equipped ships from the ship yards it overlooked, to many ports, even around the world, and brought them home again, sometimes laden with good fortune, sometimes with bad news of deaths at sea, failure of business venture or tales of the great hazzards of violent storms. For all these, and for the vessels that never came back there was rejoicing, or sympathy and comfort in the words that fell from the high pulpit beneath the sounding board. From the lips of the three who had been ordained and installed there, never had any but liberal, kindly and generous words been heard. The never flagging spirits of these men, save when illness overtook Mr. Cary, had been equal to two long sermons on each Sunday, while on Thanksgiving and Fast days the congregation was instructed on the great public questions of the day.

Thus the old meeting house had been woven inextricably into the every day life of the town as the new one never could be, for the times had changed. Once merchants had advertised their places of business as "near the Rev. Mr. Lowell's meeting house." A grammar school was established "not far from the Rev. Mr. Lowell's Meeting House." "Broadcloths and Beavers" were sold "just to the northward of Rev. Mr. Cary's meeting house." A tavern "near Rev. Mr. Cary's meeting house" was famous for "Apple and Mince Pies in the neatest and best manner." The town voted, May 15th, 1787, "that the name of the street leading from High street to the Revd Mr. Cary's meeting house be altered from Fish street to State street."

*"In the old meeting house it is probable that the town meetings and all other public meetings of general interest were held, but a

*Oration of Henry Bailey Little, June 26th, 1925. Two hundredth anniversary of the founding of the Society.

town house had been erected before the building of this (the new) edifice."

It was a building not too fine for common uses, a land mark that had withstood the fierce northeast gales that often ravaged the coast, earthquake shocks and a lightning stroke. It had seen its congregation change from English subjects to American citizens; but it was literally worn out. It had never been fine enough for the new prosperity of new times.

The dedication of the new house took place on the second of October which was the Friday following the demolition of the old house. The Newburyport Herald and County Gazette of the next day reports that: "Yesterday the new meeting house of the first religious society of this town was formally dedicated to the honor and worship of God. The ceremonies on this occasion were peculiarly solemn and interesting. A procession of the proprietors preceded by an assemblage of vocal and instrumental performers was formed near the spot of the old house, and proceeded to the new building where the Reverend pastors were introduced by the committee of the parish into the pulpit, as the future scene of their public labors.

"The exercises began with music. The Rev. Jesse Appleton of Hampton, addressed the throne of grace in an animated, fervent and pathetic manner. The Rev. John Andrews, junior pastor of the church, delivered a discourse from Psalm 100, 4th verse. On all occasions his public performances have been replete with rational doctrine and real religion. This occasion called for more than common exertion, and his hearers were not disappointed in their expectations. He warmly manifested his attachment to his God, and his ability in his service, by the energy of his manner and the beauty and sublimity of his discourse. It was perfectly appropriate to the season and perfectly congenial with the sentiments of the friends of real religion. His language was like the course he was advocating, noble and interesting. His opinions were founded on the gospel of Christ and like that, decisive and candid. We will spare a further eulogy, in the hope that the public at large may soon judge of its intrinsic merit. The music on this occasion was composed by Samuel Holyoke, A. M., and performed under his particular direction. His taste was applauded by the most able amateurs; and his judgment has been too long established to need

our comment. We have only to lament that a country like this can never bestow so ample a reward as his uncommon abilities deserve.

"In the afternoon there was a concert. The powers of music were never directed with a more general effect, and never produced a more judicious tribute of applause."

Miss Sarah Ann Emery has caught and handed down to us some of the excitement of that day. She says that people were astir early; out-of-town folk were driving in; new wearing apparel was paraded; the streets were scenes of animation and it was necessary to go early to the meeting house in order to secure a seat.

The Newburyport Herald and County Gazette has further information regarding the event. "In the Herald of Friday last we noticed the proceedings at the Dedication of the New Meeting house. We cannot forbear publishing the following excellent toasts which were drunk at a dinner given to attending clergymen, by the proprietors of that house, and which were unintentionally omitted in our last.

'The United States—May their magistrates, by precept and example, recommend that righteousness which alone exalteth a nation.

The Commonwealth of Massachusetts—May its churches ever enjoy a succession of Clergy whose doctrines and lives coincide with the religion they profess.

The Inhabitants of Newburyport—May they ever continue to be distinguished for genuine patriotism and a warm attachment to religious institutions.

Governor Strong—May he long enjoy that approbation of the wise and good to which his piety and virtue entitle him.

Peace on earth, and good will to all men.'

We are likewise happy in acknowledging even at this period the general pleasure received from the masterly performance of P. A. Von Hegen on the organ and sincerely regret the omission of this deserved panegyric in our last."

Mr. Cary was unable to be present at this dedication.

CHAPTER VII

IN THE NEW MEETING HOUSE

*"It would seem that the numbers of the church and society culminated with the removal to Pleasant street. But the new meeting house was well filled for seven years at least, every pew being taken and even the gallery pews being sold at an advance on the cost.....It is impossible to be accurate as to the numbers of the society, but if the deaths annually recorded are a full statement, the people who belonged to the society in 1788 were about 2,000, and their number very slowly diminished so that even in 1808 there were as many as 1800 of young and old who belonged to it."

The society was still the leading one in the town as it was the oldest. What happened in it was of general interest. Miss Emery tells us that §"Col. Greenleaf caused a deal of talk by cushioning his pew with red velvet, edged with fringe."

The Rev. Thomas Cary died in November, 1808. He had been held in high esteem in the town; and the Newburyport Herald and County Gazette published the following, it would seem adequate, appreciation of him:

"Died in this town on the morning of the 24th inst. the Rev. Thomas Cary, A. M., Senior Pastor of the First Religious Society in Newburyport; in the 64th year of his age and the 41st of his Pastoral Relation. He was the son of Samuel Cary, Esqr. of Charlestown, in this state, where he was born on the 15th of October, 1745. He received the honors of Harvard College in the year 1761; and was ordained May 11th, 1768. The Author of Nature and grace had conferred on him talents active and solid, affections warm and tender, sentiments devout and enlightened, charity out of a pure heart, and of a good conscience, and of faith unfeigned. His early promise and maturity were followed up with a steady progress in faith and fruitful labors, like the rising light, which flames more and more into the perfect day. His fidelity and affection were met by the people of his charge with reciprocal attention and attachment. He was their sincere instructor, their compassionate comforter and their social delight. To his brethren in the ministry he was a generous

*Oration of Amos Noyes, 150th Anniversary of the founding of the Society.
§Reminiscences of a Nonagenarian.

friend, a wise counsellor and a most pleasant and improving associate. He excelled in the charms of conversation, springing from benevolence, enlivened by genius, elevated by knowledge, enriched by experience, directed by virtue and sanctified by piety. He was esteemed very highly in love for his public works, for fond and fervent devotion, for judicious, impressive, pathetic and edifying discourses. But in the meridian of life, while his friends rejoiced in his light, a holy Providence, whose ways are unsearchable, but perfect, brought a dark cloud over him, and suddenly arrested the genial influence of his beams. A paralytic disorder reduced him to the verge of the grave. Twenty years he had served in the Gospel in this place and twenty years he walked through life oppressed with great infirmity. But his afflictions were relieved by mercies and consolations. Most of the time he was able to attempt the public office of religion and occasionally he was able to appear in the pastorate station. The brightness of his mind often broke through the cloud in which it was involved; and still gave delight to his friends, a delight softened by his griefs and their tender sympathy.

"The transactions which passed between him and his people, on resigning his active duties, prove their mutual love and esteem. When they settled a colleague, who, as a son with a father, walked with him, and served in the Gospel, he remained their senior pastor, and was among them as a Father, entering into their concerns, watching over their welfare and enjoying the expression of their kind respect.

"His heart was warmly engaged in the interests, the happiness and the sorrows of his friends; and all within his acquaintance appeared to have their share of his enlarged and benevolent attention. The religion which he preached was his support and solace. During his long debility he was able to give much of his time to reading, and the ecclesiastical history of his country was a favorite study; and the fruits of his studies were conspicuous in his conversation. In his later days he gradually decayed; the oppression of his disorder increased till his life subsided into a state of insensibility and apparently without a painful struggle of nature his spirit returned unto the God who gave it."

Certainly this obituary presents the characteristics of a notable personality.

The society voted to defray the expenses of his funeral "including mourning for the family of the deceased, the erection of a monument over his grave and all other incidental expenses." Publication of the funeral sermon was ordered and it was voted "that every person who pays a tax and every widow in the Society be entitled to one copy."

Mr. Cary's funeral absorbed the attention of the town. It occurred on November 26th. At 12.30 noon, the church bells tolled. At 2 o'clock a procession formed at his home on High street with the members of the Merrimack Humane Society, of which he had been a member, at its head. They were followed by the trustees of Dummer Academy, of whom he had been one, parishioners, six clergymen, the body with its bearers, mourners and inhabitants of the town to the church. Perhaps nothing could show better the standing of the man and the foremost place the society occupied than this great funeral procession. The sermon, preached by Mr Andrews, was reported as very affecting. Mr. Cary was buried in the Old Hill Burial Ground and the monument erected to his memory was similar to and near that of the Rev. John Lowell.

He left two sons and a widow. Thomas Cary, son of Esther Carter Cary, seems to have been a fascinating and brilliant young man, but somewhat dissipated and unfortunate in having too much money. He is mentioned sometimes in Newburyport histories as taking part in town affairs. The other son was Samuel, son of Deborah Prince Cary, who, years later, was associated with James Freeman Clarke at King's Chapel in Boston. Eleven children had been born into the Cary family, but only these two lived to adult life. Neither of these left children.

After Mr. Cary's death and *"during the next ten or fifteen years there was considerable uneasiness and dissatisfaction among the members of the society, aggravated by political opinions and doctrinal views occasionally uttered in the pulpit. While this condition of affairs lasted, the Sunday worshipers gradually diminished in number. It became necessary, however, for those who

*Ould Newbury, by John J. Currier.

desired to dissolve their connection with the parish to notify the clerk in a legal manner, in order to escape taxation; and frequent communications like the following are entered upon the records:—

'Newburyport, 8th, March, 1809.

To the Clerk of the First Religious Society in Newburyport,

Presuming that I may be better and more particularly acquainted and instructed in the principles of the gospel of our Lord, under the pastoral care of the *Rev. John Giles than elsewhere, I have, for that and other special reasons, thought proper to attend devotional worship in his society in preference to that of the First Religious Society in Newburyport. You are therefore notified that I am no longer a member of that society, and request in future not to be taxed there as such.

Abel Stanwood'."

Among the disaffected in this year of 1809 was James Kettell. He had been an active member of the parish for many years, serving on its building committee and as moderator at many of the parish meetings. Without his name for a few pages the record book has an unfamiliar look. Joseph Marquand, another old parishioner, writes as follows:

"Newburyport, 29 April, 1814.

To the Clerk of the First Religious Society in Newburyport,

Sir, Joseph Marquand, being aggrieved at Mr. Andrews' Pulpit being a Vehickle of Slander on the 22nd February and 4th of July annually against the Government of the United States, wishes to withdraw his name from the Books of the First Religious Society in Newburyport, and does hereby give notice that he is no longer a member of said Society.

Jos. Marquand."

*Rev. John Giles, Pastor of the Second Presbyterian Church of Newburyport.

Three other letters are interesting.

"Newburyport, April 27, 1816.

Jacob Gerrish, Esq.

Sir, I wish my name to be withdrawn from the rekods of the First Religious Society in this Towne as I can gow where I can hear preaching that sutes me & my famyly better.

Jos. Granger."

"Newburyport, April 13th, 1817.

To the Clerk of the First Religious Society,

Sir, this will inform you that I attend public worship at St. Paul's Church under the Pastoral charge of the Revd James Morse, and wish not to be taxed at your meeting.

Stephen Hodge."

"Newburyport, Sept. 30th, 1818.

Joseph Gerrish, Esq., Clerk of the First Religious Society in the Towne,

Sir. This may certify that I, the subscriber, have left the meeting and the Pastoral charge of the Rev. John Andrews & it is my wish never to be taxed again by that Parish.

Jacob Johnson.

N. B. I shall hereafter be taxed at the Rev. C. W. Milton's."

There is a most pleasant memory of the first decade of the 19th century. In 1806 the meeting house of the First Parish in Newbury was pulled down in order that a new one might be erected on its site. An invitation extended to its congregation to attend services at the new Pleasant street meeting house was accepted. The pastor, the Rev. John S. Popkins, D. D., said: "One of her daughters, who has ever reserved a kindly affection, is now ready to receive her to her kindly bosom, while she renews her outward tabernacle."

Amiable relations and harmony of religious principles prevailed with these two churches for a century. Both exerted a liberal influence in the sister communities. Later pastors of the Newbury church inclined to a stricter Calvinism, and cooler relations followed.

When the First Religious Society in Newburyport had completed the great undertaking of building a new meeting house its ambition seems to have grown somnolent. It lost its energetic leadership by removals from the city, deaths and sometimes by reverses of fortunes. Reaction and change were in the air not only in religious matters, but politically, economically and socially. Doctrines were changing and few knew whither they were tending. Dr. Popkins, of the Newbury church, was a brilliant preacher; and members of this parish were often found in his congregation. The old Federal dominance in government was waning. France and England were preying on our shipping and partisanship for one or the other caused sharp antagonisms. New fortunes were being built up while many of the old aristocracy were sinking to poverty. Embargoes killed the shipping and after the war of 1812 Newburyport was no longer an important port. Manufacturing began to take the place of shipping, but with it came a new social order.

It was a time when many new churches had recently been built, or were being built. These drew from all of the older established societies. Dr. Andrews' sermons were liberal and lacked the old time fire which many craved. Nevertheless *"he retained so much of the savor of the olden faith, that he continued to exchange pulpits with several ministers of our denomination (Congregational) till the close, or near the close, of his active ministry in 1830."

An interesting letter, written by the Rev. Horatio Wood of Lowell, and read on the 150th anniversary of the founding of the parish, is in part as follows: "My recollection goes back to within a single decade of that time (1801). Tithingmen were not then extinct. I shall never forget the painful grip upon my arm when about four years old, made by one of these Sunday police, just outside my father's gate, and of being carried to him with a severe rebuke for venturing into the street on the Lord's day out of meeting time. In my early days the leading men of the church wore their long queues, the minister wore breeches or short clothes, with silver knee buckles and large buckles to his shoes.

"Col. Wigglesworth, of revolutionary fame, was a conspicuous member of the parish, dressing in similar costume and wearing a

*Contributions to the Ecclesiastical History of Essex County.

three cornered hat. Notes used to be read from the pulpit desiring prayers in sickness, death, afflictions, and for sea-faring men 'gone to sea,' rendering thanks for a 'safe return'; and married people, in their gratitude, thus publicly returned thanks 'for mercies received.' The pews then were filled with large families. (I was one of eleven children). Many of the little ones in church were obliged, for want of room, to sit on crickets. These large families assembled for worship, and filling the pews, presented a beautiful sight to my youthful inexperience. I congratulate myself that I received religious instruction in the Pleasant street church. Dr. Andrews was my teacher, first in simple lessons in a room in the Court House. This was before Sunday schools were generally established. His discourses from the pulpit were not only controversial but straightforward utterances of undisputed truths, with their application to daily temper and life. The proof of his wisdom and his example were manifest in his family and many other families in his parish."

That Newburyport offered its people nothing more deeply rooted in eternal truth by which men have been ascending since time began than they heard from the pulpits of the two churches of this society, or saw in the examples of its ministers seems evident. Yet the latter were not perfect and may have lacked in tact at times. Dr. D. T. Fisk, of the Belleville Congregational church reports that: *"One member who left, and united with a neighbor church, has often told me that what finally decided her to leave, and made her unwilling to hear Dr. Andrews preach ever after, was his saying to her, when on one occasion she had been stating some of her religious views, 'If I believed as you do, I would throw my Bible into the fire'."

In 1811 a fire swept through the business section of the town and practically destroyed it. The flames almost reached this beautiful building before they were checked. It was a matter of deep thankfulness when it was seen to stand untouched near the edge of blackened ruins. After this fire much of the newly built up business tended to locate on Pleasant street so that this new meeting house, like the old one in the market place, lifted its spire from the midst of an industrial center.

*Contributions to the Ecclesiastical History of Essex County.

It has been said that this society advanced in liberalism faster than its pastor. Dr. Andrews felt constrained to retire from the ministry in 1830. This dissolution of his pastorate "was mutual, harmonious and honorable to both parties." The society raised $1500 as a gift to him.

Like the preceding pastorates this one had lasted more than forty years. Perhaps the most notable event in it, after the erection of the new meeting house, was the establishment of Sunday schools. Although he had resigned the pastorate of the church Dr. Andrews, by its unanimous desire, continued to administer the ordinance of the Lord's supper until the settlement of his successor, the Rev. Thomas Fox, who thus describes his character:

"Dr. Andrews finished his long and conscientious pastorate, and the years of his retirement from it, one of the kindest and best of men in this community; where he was known of all for sterling integrity, for the frank simplicity and gentleness of his disposition, the uniform excellence of his daily walk and conversation, free from all envy, jealousy and every shadow of uncharitableness; ever acting up to his light and standing in his place in his day, a diligent laborer in the vineyard. His successor may and will be pardoned for thus bearing his testimony to the memory of this excellent Christian man, this model ex-minister; from whom during years of intimate intercourse he received the paternal, considerate, ever disinterested treatment, that could not have been heartier, or showed a more anxious regard for his welfare and happiness, had it been extended toward an own son. Reason, indeed, has he to cherish and recall a worthiness that was so examplary."

*"Some of us," said Mr. Nathan N. Withington, "can remember Dr. Andrews as a venerable figure, one of the last to appear upon the streets of the town in small clothes, silk stockings and silver buckled shoes, benign and dignified of aspect, and still vigorous at a great age."

Dr. Andrews died on August 17th, 1846. He was buried in the Old Hill Burying Ground. His daughters, the Misses Hannah, Jane and Margaret Andrews survived him, and also one son, John. The latter was a book seller in Newburyport for many years. Two of

*Oration, 100th Anniversary of the present building.

his daughters, Mrs. Caroline Cushing Leighton and Miss Jane Andrews, attained considerable literary distinction. Among the several books written by the former are "Life at Puget Sound" and "A Swiss Thoreau." Miss Jane Andrews was at one time an instructor at Antioch college, Ohio, under Horace Mann. Later she became widely known as a writer of children's books. One of them, "Seven Little Sisters," has been translated into several languages.

In 1818 the warrant for a legal meeting of the parish contained this item, "To see if they will consent to have one or more stoves erected in the meeting house." At the subsequent meeting it was voted "to allow any person or persons to put up at their own expense one or more stoves." Probably stoves were installed, and provided some warmth for the shivering congregation during winter months. Until this time congregations endured a winter temperature in the church, tempered only by foot stoves, with a fortitude that finds no parallel in present day congregations. More than twenty years later, 1839, a committee was chosen to consider means of providing "more effectual warming of the meeting house." It was voted to allow $150 to defray the expenses of building furnaces. Just how the committee spent this sum is not recorded; but no furnaces were installed.

One of the interesting happenings of Dr. Andrews' pastorate was the replacing of the old bell, purchased for the first meeting house, with a new bell which came from the foundry of Paul Revere and Son. The vote, taken in 1819, specified that the bell was not to exceed 1200 pounds in weight nor to be lighter than 1000 pounds. The treasurer of the church was authorized to borrow, if necessary, $500 to make the purchase.

In 1825 the society was known in the town as Unitarian. In his history of Newburyport, published in that year, Caleb Cushing says that it was the only one of that denomination in the town.

CHAPTER VIII

THE REVEREND THOMAS FOX

Thomas Fox was chosen as the successor of Dr. Andrews. He was ordained on August 3rd, 1831. The ordination sermon was preached by the Rev. Charles Lowell, a descendant of the first minister of the parish. Mr. Fox was born in Boston on the 20th of August, 1808, and was graduated from Harvard college twenty years later. He was, therefore, another young man who had his initial experience in the ministry here.

For the first time since the founding of this parish the pastor of the Newbury church, the Rev. Leonard Withington, refused to take part in the ordination service. His example was followed by all the ministers of Newburyport. Various reasons have been given for this drawing away from the First Parish of Newburyport. The name Unitarian, by which the society was now known, has usually been considered the cause, but Mr. Nathan N. Withington, son of the Rev. Leonard Withington, says; *"It seems to me that this growing difference in the religious world was not so much theological as it was the attitude of either party toward the life that now is. Theological disputes between orthodox theorists were fully as bitter, if not more acrimonious, than those between the orthodox and Unitarians. But the orthodox retained a great deal of the old Puritan contempt for the graces and beauties of life. It was wrong to read almost any novel except the Pilgrim's Progress. With many it was wrong to dance, and with all it was a deadly sin to play a game of cards or to attend a play at the theatre. The Unitarians had sloughed off these prejudices with the Calvinist creed. They cultivated the graceful and beautiful and the chief objection to Mr. Fox which I heard from my orthodox friends was, that instead of preaching against the exceeding sinfulness of sin and the awful doom of the sinner in a future state, he preached of the beauty of the flowers, the glory of the sunset and the loveliness of the universe in which we dwell. This was horrid in the eyes of conservative people, the joys of whose traditional religion consisted in contemplating the tortures reserved for their unregenerate neighbors in another world."

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*Oration of Nathan N. Withington, Centenary of Pleasant Street Church.

The population of Newburyport at the time of the ordination of Mr. Fox was 6859. This was nearly seven hundred less than it had been a decade earlier. Since the beginning of the century five churches had been built in Newburyport. Every one of the older congregations must have contributed members to form these new congregations at a time when the whole number of church going persons was being reduced by the decrease in the town's population.

So, despite the excellent qualities of Dr. Andrews, and the esteem in which he was held, his lack of fiery eloquence, possibly some monotony in his service and sermons, when in some pulpit in town a new face could be seen and a new voice heard, the attendance fell away. There seemed danger of apathy falling upon the parish. With the advent of Mr. Fox a new spirit came over it. With his youth it became young again. Attendance at the services rapidly increased. He was especially successful in interesting young people.

*"Mr. Fox found a difficult task before him. It was during his incumbency that more than one attack was sure to be made upon the position of this church, as the parish church of Newburyport .....If Mr. Fox was not wholly successful in resisting such dissent, if at times he sacrificed himself and his parish for good ideals we must still more admire the power with which he counteracted such losses. He did this, it appears, in three ways; as a preacher, an administrator and a pastor. We are well assured that in Mr. Fox's time this church was thronged twice a day from Sunday to Sunday—literally thronged, its floor pews all filled, its gallery equally so and on special occasions there were many standing throughout the church.....At this time the church boasted of a congregation frequently numbering 1200."

In the church record book kept by Mr. Fox there are entries regarding help given to indigent members of the parish, and many invitations to ordinations of ministers in other towns are noted. So if the churches of this town held aloof, obviously there was developing a strong cooperation and union between the various Unitarian congregations of the vicinity.

As a preacher Mr. Fox §"insisted on interpreting the Old by the New Testament, and both by the light of reason, of common sense,

*From an unsigned paper found among the church records.

§Oration of Amos Noyes on the 150th anniversary of the founding of the parish.

and in conformity with natural laws.....There was more doctrine preached than had been for a century; and the discourses, when not doctrinal, were moral essays."

As an administrator he introduced some innovations. He brightened the church services with flowers, he instituted picnics as a parish festivity; and in many ways he interested the young people. *"Whatever the private opinion no audible objections were heard in the society, but outside it many were scandalized. Not a few of the good mothers in Israel made it an especial topic for gossip and tea table talk. 'Poses in the meetin' 'us on a Sabba Day!' Why, it savored altogether too much of popery." This matter of flowers in the church seemed an abomination to many of a higher grade of intelligence. Mr. Fox was the target of denounciatory sermons berating the idolatrous desecration of the house of God.

The Sunday school picnics were another source of gossip. §"Mr. Fox was a great student of nature, and he interested his scholars in his pursuits. The autumn after the school commenced, on a lovely Saturday afternoon in early October, the boys and many of the girls and teachers walked with him to the Devil's den and basin. Several private carriages conveyed the smaller children and others unable to walk. Many of the parishioners joined the party during the afternoon. All brought well filled baskets, and an appetising, delicious supper was spread under the trees. This excursion gave such pleasure it was repeated at the Laurels on the banks of the Merrimack the next June. Some of the large, old style stage coaches were hired from the stage company for conveyance, besides private teams. The next summer Mr. and Mrs. Curzon invited the school to their pleasant home at Curzon's Mills. This was a very grand affair .....Instead of the repast on the grass, tables with seats were put up, the tables set in good style with flower decorations and the speaking and singing were properly arranged. The school filled thirteen stages and hacks. These with a number of private carriages made so imposing a procession as it proceeded up High street that it attracted much observation and 'Fox's Caravan' was ridiculed by those that in a few years became most active in getting up picnics in their own societies."

*§Newburyport News, an article signed by Sarah Ann Emery.

As a pastor Mr. Fox was a man of amazing energy and resources. He preached two sermons on Sundays and was present at the sessions of the church school, which for six months of each year were held before the morning service and for six months after the afternoon service. He adopted a practice for a time of preaching a half hour sermon for the younger people and children after the regular afternoon service. These "little sermons" were so popular that not only did the young people and children attend them, but many of their elders remained to listen to a third sermon for the day. Miss Emery tells us that Mr. Fox showed no sign of weariness at these extra services. He interested the young people in botany and geology, occasionally gave them talks on such subjects, and encouraged them to bring to him any interesting or unique specimens of plants or rocks which they might find. The young people adored him.

Following the fashion set by his predecessors in the First Parish pulpit, Mr. Fox brought a young bride to the town. She helped him loyally in his work and *"was so free from fault and so charming that even the most rigid of the orthodox concluded that she was safe even if she was a Unitarian."

As a citizen of the town Mr. Fox achieved a success that incurred the disapproval of some and invited new and bitter criticism. §"He wrote and worked for education. His work in this field was exceedingly efficient and valuable. Newburyport soon expended per child more money than any city in the county except Salem. But this was not without angry opposition. The letters in the Newburyport Herald against him were intemperate and personal, and but thinly disguised the parsimonious spirit of their authors. Public education was a delusion by reason of the small number of teachers employed. It was this discussion that led to their adequate increase. He used his influence to remove many incompetent teachers, not choosing in this the path of peace. He was especially active in starting the Female High School, a movement, which co-operating with like movements in every large town of the Commonwealth, has already had vast revolutionary results and promises to exert still greater on the relations of the sexes."

*Newburyport Herald, Item upon Newburyport Churches.
§Oration of Amos Noyes, 150th anniversary of the founding of the parish.

The Female High School thus founded is believed to have been the first girls' high school in the United States.

During this pastorate the pulpit in the church was lowered to its present position. Originally it was not only higher, but it extended farther into the body of the church. It was reached by a flight of steps that ascended from the back porch, or what is now called the minister's room. This arrangement permitted the minister to reach his place unobserved and appear in the pulpit to the surprise of the uninitiated.

There are two brief references in the church records to this matter. A meeting of the proprietors was called in June, 1839, "to see if they will authorize their committee to make any and what alterations in the Pulpit." It was voted at a later meeting "that those desirous of altering the Pulpit may do it at their own expense—Provided that it shall not be lowered more than one foot—and the plan be submitted to the Proprietors' Committee."

Little information in regard to this change is available. The pillars that support the pulpit are reeded rather than fluted, and probably were new at this time. Where the sounding board once hung a chandelier was suspended, and another was suspended from the ceiling in the center of the church.

It may be questioned whether the alteration of the pulpit was an improvement.

*"There was a grandeur in that ancient pulpit with its rich crimson velvet drapery and cushions, and the graceful sounding board was suspended above that and added much to the impressiveness of the structure. The space under the pulpit was a large closet where the Sunday school library was kept."

On May 26th, 1835, an interesting event took place in the church when the people of the three towns that once constituted Newbury (Newbury, Newburyport and West Newbury) celebrated the 200th anniversary of the landing of the first settlers on the bank of the river Parker. After a long procession which started at the town house in Newbury, and marched through several of the Newburyport streets to this church, a brilliant young parishioner, Caleb Cushing, delivered an oration which won high praise.

*Newburyport News, an article signed by Miss Sarah Emery.

The reasons for the resignation of Mr. Fox on the first of April, 1846, were given as ill health, the necessity of living near his aging father and mother in Boston and the need of more money for his growing family than the parish could afford to pay him. His loss was severely felt. "There was," said one of his parishioners, "a power, an intangible attractiveness about Mr. Fox that was seen and felt, but words are inadequate to describe it."

During this pastorate the organ, the "box of whistles" and "tooting tub" which had caused so much derision when it was installed in the old meeting house in 1794, was replaced by a new organ. This one was built by Joseph Alley, a resident of Newburyport, and a man of unusual musical genius. It was considered the finest organ in the vicinity and was in constant use until about 1884. Then it was rebuilt by George S. Hutchings of Boston. Many of the old parts were used, and it is still a serviceable and acceptable instrument.

While Mr. Fox created interest and drew a large congregation to his services he did not make many permanent additions to the parish. The Essex Memorial of 1836 gives the number of communicants of the church as ninety. The church school, for which he did much, numbered in this year 130.

During his years here transcendentalism was rising into prominence in intellectual circles. Some of the parish were interested in the current abstruse speculations; others were drawn into the so-called great revival that, beginning in about 1831, became general in New England. Almost every church then received large additions to its membership, but *"the same causes which had previously brought about a diminution in the society continued in part in his ministry. The older members died off; and there were few recruits from the outside."

It remained for a new minister to conciliate the extreme liberals and those less intellectually advanced, and to plant in the ground so vigorously plowed by Mr. Fox seeds of stable growth. To this field the society invited Thomas Wentworth Higginson, at that time an arch agitator for an unpopular cause.

*Oration of Amos Noyes, 150th Anniversary of the Founding of the Parish.

CHAPTER IX

THOMAS WENTWORTH HIGGINSON

A year and a half elapsed after Mr. Fox's resignation before the Rev. Thomas Wentworth Higginson was ordained as minister of this society. In that interval the pulpit had been supplied by several ministers, three of whom, David S. Fosdick, Jr., Octavius B. Frothingham and Samuel Longfellow, declined invitations to become settled over the parish. In the summer of 1847 Mr. Higginson accepted the society's invitation. He believed that his ordination was strictly the affair of the parish that had chosen him, and of himself. Therefore the guests at this ordination were a few of his friends among the clergy and a committee from the parish.

The event took place on September 15th. The ordination sermon, preached by his cousin, William Henry Channing, was entitled "The Gospel of Today." The charge to the young minister was given by James Freeman Clarke who exhorted him to reforms by constructive, not by destructive measures, but urged him, unnecessarily, it seems, to scathingly rebuke the sin of slavery.

The Rev. Laurence Hayward, present minister of the society, has written in regard to the ordination sermon and Mr Higginson's work in the parish. *"I have been interested and surprised in reading it," he says, "to see how much it is the gospel of this day also. It insists in just the terms that are being used now, and as wholly new and startling principles, that churches should direct their aims to the solution primarily of socialogical and economic principles.

"Mr. Higginson was in perfect sympathy with his cousin's sermon, and immediately threw himself into one of those practical causes that the latter had described. It was then the troubled period of anti-slavery agitation leading up to the war—a period the conflict and angry feelings of which, I suppose, none of us who are of a generation who did not immediately know them can realize. Newburyport, in spite of having produced William Lloyd Garrison, was a center of pro-slavery feeling, particularly the parish part of it, and Mr. Higginson soon showed that he was very much on the other side. His sermons were, to a considerable proportion, on the

*From an address delivered before the Women's Alliance at Newburyport on November 7th, 1911.

one subject of the abolition of slavery. People who remember the time say that even his opponents in the parish did not object to occasional sermons upon what they considered his hobby; but with the one sided intensity of the born reformer, he constantly dwelt on the sole thing that loomed large in his eyes. With the incumbent and many of the parish so out of sympathy with each other, little good could come to either side, and accordingly, in just two years and a day from his installation, he gave up the parish.

"I have always been extremely interested in those two years, and have tried to gather every hint of their character. Some of the traces of his influence that come to one are good, some not so admirable. He was, I take it, an able and effective preacher. His sermons, whether polemic or spiritual, went home to the mark. He was not always engaged in one agitation, after all. I have had the pleasure of reading two most practical sermons of his preached here, on the Tongue, and I wished we could every one of us take home to ourselves the charity and good-will and self-restraint they inculcate. I judge that a great proportion of his sermons were of this helpful character, and I have heard him classed by good judges as an eloquent preacher. Others have also told me of the beauty of the way he read the service, particularly the psalms and the hymns."

The parsonage was at 18 Essex street, a large old-fashioned house. To this house, two weeks after his ordination, Mr. Higginson brought a young bride. Mrs. Higginson was a second cousin of her husband, the daughter of Dr. Walter Channing of Brookline and sister of the Concord poet, Ellery Channing. She was the fifth young bride that parish ministers, in their youth, had brought to the town. A woman of great intelligence and charm, in sympathy with her husband's aims, but capable of finding amusement in them, she undoubtedly moderated to some extent his too intense zeal. She is reported to have said to him once: "Why do the insane always come to you?"

Shortly after his marriage Mr. Higginson wrote to his brother: "I am fairly settled here now in a lovely house, with a noble hearted wife and a marvelous parish."

After finishing his university course, and before he had settled to any life work he had written: "What I want now most urgently is more of a controversial spirit, the will and the power to pitch right

into people and show 'em how foolishly they are thinking and acting, instead of my present spirit of being willing people should think what they please if they'll only leave me alone."

It fell to the lot of the Newburyport parish to be the field where the successfully developed spirit which Mr. Higginson craved for himself was first exercised. He was not unmindful of the attitude of the parish toward himself as he led some of its members to a firing line of sought reforms. He seems to have been hopeful of strengthening this line when he wrote of his parishioners:

"They manifest regard for us only by a full and attentive presence at church—certainly the most agreeable way, but queer. Not a particle of petting. Rather afraid of us, in fact Mary (Mrs. Higginson) thinks—as if we were handsome spotted panthers, good to look at and roaring finely—something to be proud of perhaps—but not to be approached incautiously, or too near; except by a few familiar ones.....I find less to complain of and far more to enjoy in the ministry than I ever anticipated; my people are thus far willing and impressible at least; I say whatever seems right, and I preached yesterday to about 400.....If I can do my duty, there is much to be effected here.....We met Mr.————, the richest man (about) in the Society.....he ere long proceeded to compliment me on the 'good whipping' I gave them Sunday afternoon on 'Freedom of Speech'.....I have not yet found one who approves of war or disapproves free speech on the minister's part and I begin to feel somewhat confident that they will stand the trials I have ready for them.....I have talked very plainly in private."

In "Cheerful Yesterdays" he describes the downfall of these high hopes. "The parish which at first welcomed me, counted among its strongest supporters a group of retired sea-captains who had traded with Charleston and New Orleans, and more than one of whom had found himself obliged, after sailing from a southern port, to put back in order to eject some run-away slave from his lower hold. All of their prejudices ran in one direction and their view of the case differed from that of Boston society only as a rope's end differs from a rapier. One of them, perhaps the quietest, was the very Francis Todd who had caused the imprisonment of Garrison at Baltimore. It had happened besides, that the one political hero and favorite son of Newburyport, Caleb Cushing, was fighting

slavery's battles in Mexico. Of Garrison himself they felt ashamed. It now seems to me strange that, under all of these circumstances I held my place for two years and a half. Of course it cannot be claimed that I showed unvarying tact; indeed I can now see that it was quite otherwise; but it was a case when tact counted for little; in fact, I think my sea-captains did not wholly dislike my plainness of speech, though they felt bound to discipline it; and moreover the whole younger community was on my side. It did not help matters that I let myself be nominated for Congress by the 'Free Soil' party in 1848 and 'stumped the district' though in a hopeless minority. The nomination was Whittier's doings, partly to prevent that party from nominating him.....

"Having been, of course, defeated for Congress, as I had simply stood in a gap, I lived in Newburyport for more than two years longer after giving up my parish, serving on the school committee and organizing public evening schools, then a great novelty. The place was and is a manufacturing town and I had a large and intelligent class of factory girls, mostly American, who came to my house for reading and study once a week. In this work I had enlisted a set of young maidens of unusual ability, several of whom were afterward well known to the world."

No other minister in the long years of the parish has given us opinions or descriptions of it. The view point has been from the parish toward the minister. The facts that have been salvaged from the past and the opinions and descriptions lingering with us have always been from this latter view point.

Among the young girls from whom Mr. Higginson had such pleasant help with his class of factory girls were the granddaughters of the Rev. Dr. Andrews, and Harriet Prescott, later Mrs. Spofford, and Louisa Stone, afterward Mrs. Hopkins. These ladies became writers of more than local fame. To what extent Mr. Higginson trained and encouraged their talents cannot be known, of course; but his influence was constructive and valuable. It was, in a very true sense, a parish influence and one that penetrated the intellectual life of the town. Even the antagonisms which he aroused by his aggressive advocacy of the anti-slavery cause promoted thought and awakened consciences. His work for better educational facilities for girls, for women's suffrage and for temperance, whatever the

opinions current in his day, should reflect credit upon the religious society that invited him to the town. He retained his membership in the society throughout his stay here.

Mr. Higginson kept no church records. He seems to have been fully occupied in vigorously pushing forward reforms and the affairs of the town. He wrote to a neglected correspondent *"People don't lecture and edit and keep school for 135 factory girls for nothing, and cannot expect to have much time left afterward to answer bright letters."

He wrote to his mother in regard to his resignation as minister of the parish thus: §"The case is perfectly simple. Mr. W. distinctly stated that they had no fault to find with me personally, they liked and respected me; they were always interested in my preaching, they had no complaint as to personal matters; the only thing he had ever heard mentioned was Slavery and Politics; my position as an Abolitionist they could not bear. This, he admitted, could not be altered; and he tacitly recognized that I had but one course to pursue."

Another letter written at this time reports: "I intended to write to you, but for procrastination, and the knowledge that ill news travels fast. Mine is good though, for I had resolved to release myself from the whole thing next year for various reasons. But the discontents of the Pleasant St. 'upper ten'..... have led to it now. I said so Sunday before last, to the surprise of many and the tears of all women, poor men, young men, Democrats and Come-outers. A kind of reaction has followed since, and now all the rest are shedding tears—still they have accepted my resignation only not to take effect for six months. With a free church I could carry off half the society and many urge it—but I will not.....I intend to give lectures here by and by or something of that sort. We are never going to leave these parts and are to board for the present at Mrs. Curzon's Artichoke Mills, three miles from the town and the loveliest place on earth.....

"Not a dozen are really opposed to me, but they have all the wealth. Oh, Christian Church!"

*§Thomas Wentworth Higginson—The Story of His Life, by Mary Thacher Higginson. Letters in this chapter are taken from this book.

So another able and potentially great man was practically turned away from the pulpit of this society. It was not large enough or important enough to have kept either Mr. Fox or Mr. Higginson for a life service as former ministers had been kept. While they were here, by their aid, it held its high place in the community at a time when new churches were rising, the population only slowly increasing and its liberal tendencies a scandal to many.

CHAPTER X

SUCCEEDING MINISTERS

A Newburyport author described the local social conditions of the fourth decade of the 19th century, and said of the two leading churches: *"The Episcopal parish, so-called St. James because an air of superior gentility seemed to pervade the precinct, so that some cavillers saw fit to call it St. James in allusion to the Christian name of the excellent §rector who succeeded the venerable Bishop Bass.....and the congregation of the successors of those who founded the First Church, who had at length become what was called 'liberal,' in contrast with the orthodoxy of the rest of the town, aspired to a higher degree of gentility and accomplishment than the commonality."

On November 29th, 1850, the Rev. Charles J. Bowen was ordained as the successor of Mr. Higginson. He was a graduate of Brown University, but his theological training had been in the Harvard Divinity school. Mr. Bowen was the sixth young minister of this society to bring a bride to the town. Mrs. Bowen was the daughter of the Rev. Samuel Gilman, D. D., of Charleston, S. C., and was remembered as a gracious and devoted helpmeet in the work and social life of the parish. Mr. Bowen is described as a conservative.

This was a time when myths, dogmas and many creeds were beginning to feel the devastating attacks of science. Many of the more intellectual persons in the parish were dissatisfied with the trend of the thought issuing from the pulpit. So, although major commotions ceased with the retirement of Mr. Higginson, there were minor frictions.

†"The radical element in the society desired something more speculative and progressive. Mr. Bowen was a man who in many respects was a reaction from Mr. Higginson. He did not interest himself in politics or even in the public affairs of any kind. He was, however, in his parochial duties faithful and kind, and attentive to the sick, and in his manners and conversation set an example of

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*Old New England Traits, by George Lunt.
§The Rev. James Morse.
†Oration of Amos Noyes, 150th anniversary of the founding of the parish.

urbanity and courtesy which won him many friends and made him no enemies."

Mr. Bowen resigned on June 10th, 1853. During his incumbency Newburyport was incorporated as a city. Changes in business, in the social atmosphere and in politics were taking place; but when it needed a progressive leader, in tune with the times, the society chose another conservative. For a year and a half, however, the pulpit was supplied by the Rev. Robert C. Waterson, whose sermons are said to have been neither controversial nor doctrinal.

The Rev. Artemas B. Muzzey was installed as minister of the parish on September 3rd, 1857. The sermon on this occasion was preached by the Rev. Andrew J. Peabody, most eminent, most learned and often heard from this pulpit.

Mr. Muzzey *"was a man who believed in the time honored methods of reaching the people. He established for a time in the meeting house daily public prayers. He invoked and frequently quoted the scriptures, and endeavored to make converts to the doctrine of atonement by example and reconciliation. He was active in public works, a most estimable citizen, interested in our schools."

Graduated from Harvard in 1824 and from the divinity school there Mr. Muzzey brought to the parish, as had every minister who had preceded him, the cast of Harvard scholarship. Although an alumnus of Brown University Mr. Bowen, his predecessor, had attended the Harvard divinity school, it will be remembered.

Mr. Muzzey remained in charge of the parish until November, 1864. Had Mr. Higginson occupied the pulpit during the last four or five of these years he would have had a congregation in full sympathy with his anti-slavery views. Strangely enough the parish numbers him among the five colonels which it sent to the Civil War; but his name is not in the official list of Newburyport soldiers. The names of the other four colonels are given as Frederick J. Coffin, Eben F. Stone, David P. Muzzey, and Charles Fox. The latter was a son of the Rev. Thomas Fox. Two other sons of Mr. Fox were engaged in the war, one of whom died from the result of wounds received at Gettysburg. David P. Muzzey was a son of the Rev. Artemas B. Muzzey. He was an occasional correspondent of the Newburyport Herald while he was at the front.

*Oration of Amos Noyes, 150th anniversary of the founding of the parish.

In the Herald Mr. Muzzey is mentioned from time to time as officiating at the funeral services of some soldier killed in the war. His name is among those mentioned as attending public meetings, called to promote relief work. He preached a sermon on Thanksgiving day, 1864, on "The Compensations of War." Although his resignation was given in November he remained in the parish for several months. His name is signed with that of other clergymen of the city to a communication to the governor of Massachusetts, John A. Andrew, which expresses sympathy for the loss which he personally, as governor, had sustained in the death of President Lincoln. He did not officiate at the community service held in tribute to Mr. Lincoln's memory, although it took place in this church. It is recorded that upon this occasion every seat was occupied and that many were unable even to gain admittance.

*"While Mr. Muzzey was here the North church was burned, and the same good feeling between the two societies, which was exhibited when the separation was made, was also shown in the action of the Pleasant street church on this occasion. The use of their house for worship, while the North church was rebuilding, was offered, and, although not accepted, the offer was courteously acknowledged with thanks."

Until a new minister was installed the pulpit in this church was supplied by the Rev. Samuel Calthrop. He is characterized as possessed of §"an irrepressible enthusiasm, quick imagination and ready spontaneity, which, with great learning and considerable eloquence made his discourses peculiarly suggestive and inspiring." †"He was a man of marked eccentricities, with a method of presenting a subject which was his alone. A majority of the society wished his installation as pastor but an unfortunate interview with one of its members ended any prospect of an acceptance which may have existed."

The Rev. Joseph May was installed as minister of the society on July 21st, 1868. The Newburyport Herald speaks of him as a "scholarly, refined and faithful pastor." He was born in Boston in

*From the Newburyport Herald, March 2nd, 1872.

§Oration of Amos Noyes, 150th anniversary of the founding of the parish.

†Oration of Henry Bailey Little, 200th anniversary of the founding of the parish.

1830, and was a grandson of Col. Joseph May, a well known officer of King's Chapel, and one of the first, if not the first, to become an out and out Unitarian. Joseph May, his grandson, graduated at the head of his class at Harvard, studied at the divinity school there, and so brought again to the society the stamp of that University.

Mr. May was one of the brilliant preachers who have been resident in Newburyport. His church was well filled; even some of the gallery pews were used. Unfortunately his health was not good. In 1874 the society granted him a six months leave of absence. He spent this time in traveling abroad. Upon his return he was invited to become the minister of the First Unitarian church in Philadelphia. The society accepted his resignation regretfully even though it approved his acceptance of a larger field for the exercise of his unusual talents.

During his pastorate here the names of women are found in the church records, as members of the parish committees, for the first time. A hospitality committee of women was appointed; and women also served as members of the music committee. In 1874 a meeting of the parish was called to consider the advisability of selling the meeting house. It reported that it had "carefully considered the subject and would respectfully report that in their judgment the best interests of the society would be promoted by a change from our present place of worship to one more modern and better adapted to our needs. They would therefore recommend that they be authorized to entertain proposals for the purchase of the church property and if a satisfactory price can be obtained that they be instructed to call a parish meeting to take the necessary steps to effect such sale."

Fortunately such a sale was never made.

The outstanding event of Mr. May's pastorate was the 150th anniversary celebration of the founding of the parish. This is described in another chapter. While he was here Sunday afternoon services were discontinued; although, according to the religious notices in the Saturday editions of the Newburyport Herald, occasionally a special service was held on Sunday afternoons.

For two years the society was without a settled minister. Among those who supplied the pulpit in this interval were the Rev. Samuel Longfellow, who was always a favorite here, and the Rev.

A. J. Peabody, D. D. One Sunday afternoon the latter conducted a memorial for the Rev. Thomas Fox whose death had occurred a few days earlier. Large vases of flowers stood on the communion table, a tribute to the man, who, regardless of charges of idolatrous practices, had established the custom of putting them there, and had lived until this custom had been adopted in every church in town.

The Rev. George L. Stowell preached for several Sundays before he was installed on April 12th, 1879, as minister of the society. He too was a Harvard man. During his pastorate the city was in the pangs of what was known as the "Hammond Revival." Long columns in the Newburyport Herald were devoted to this revival, but *"Mr Stowell preached with vigor against it and the methods of Mr. Hammond and with such effect that the membership of the society was materially increased."

On Sunday afternoons Mr. Stowell led a class of young men in Bible study, and, occasionally, in church history. At first these classes met in the church but after the parish hall was built, in 1873, that was the favored meeting place.

Many sorts of meetings have been held in this hall. There have been plays, sessions of the Sunday school, fairs, a series of spiritualist meetings, and dances, especially those of the Unitarian club. This club languished into extinction many years ago and left no records behind it; but older persons in the city remember the most pleasant social occasions which it sponsored. The hall was built at a cost of $3,000. The money was raised by selling bonds which were intended to be interest bearing, but the interest realized was almost wholly in the pleasure of the entertainments held within it.

Mr. Stowell resigned on September 8th, 1879. His successor was the Rev. Daniel W. Morehouse who was ordained on June 8th, 1881, after supplying the pulpit for three months.

§"As an indication of the harmony which usually prevailed in the society I would relate that before the settlement of Mr. Morehouse several candidates had been considered, the people had made an almost unanimous selection, but at the suggestion of one

*§Oration of Henry Bailey Little, 200th Anniversary of the Founding of the Parish.

member a new candidate was heard with the result that at a meeting called to settle the matter the voters were almost equally divided. Under these circumstances it was considered poor policy to take either."

Mr. Morehouse broke the long succession of Harvard trained ministers. He was graduated from the Meadville Theological school in 1880, and is remembered as a kindly man whose wife was much beloved by a club of young girls who met regularly to sew. He preached to a large congregation which was augmented by several Universalist families, whose church became defunct at this time. Believing that the older part of his congregation lacked warmth and friendliness in receiving these new members Mr. Morehouse preached a sermon of censure which some of the latter still remember with gratitude. A small room in the parish hall, above the entrance, was used by Mr. Morehouse for his study. This room was intended for the use of the ministers, but with this exception never has been used by them.

During Mr. Morehouse's incumbency the church was thoroughly repaired and painted inside and out. In its long life it had received many coats of paint. The record was found in the copper ball that tops the spire when it was opened some years ago. In it were newspapers dating from 1839 to 1906, three pennies with dates 1857, 1880, and 1906, the years in which the ball had been opened previously. There was also memoranda of various sorts, and bills for painting the church. It seems that in 1820 it was given two coats of stone color paint. "It was repainted in June and July, 1839, by Messrs. Burrill and Cutter, inside and out, with the blinds, two coats white outside for $850, including the building of a stage around the spire and taking off the weathercock and balls, for which we paid $45 to Messrs. Emery Coffin, John Newman and William J. Griffith. The wooden balls, etc., being decayed, copper balls and case for the shaft were made by Messrs. Knapp and Silloway. We gilded the two balls, shaft and weathercock, etc., for $24.50." A list of the names of those employed to do this work is given and also a brief memorandum of the painting of 1857 when two coats of white paint were given the outside of the church for $350. The weather-cock and balls were gilded at this time at the price of $20.

While Mr. Morehouse was supplying the pulpit, and nearly three months before his ordination, a fire destroyed a large cotton mill which stood very near the church. Mr. Morehouse, with others, spent the night on the roof of the church, putting out burning embers. He remained minister of the society until December 5th, 1887. The Rev. Samuel C. Beane, D. D., was installed his successor on May 15th, 1888. He was the eleventh minister of the parish, was educated at Dartmouth college and graduated from the Harvard divinity school.

Dr. Beane's installation sermon was preached by the Rev. Brooke Herford, Jr., of the Arlington street church in Boston. This was the beginning of a seventeen years pastorate during which the sermons heard in this church were noted as brilliant and scholarly. Dr. Beane was considered the ablest preacher in the town and strangers often came to the church to hear him. Outside of the pulpit he was influential in organizations promoting the social, historical, intellectual and moral interests of the city. *"He was greatly interested in education and served for a number of years on the local school board. He probably made the first exchange that had occurred since the days of Parson Andrews, with the pastor of an orthodox church. This was with Mr. Torry of Byfield, and the impression made upon me at the time was that I had listened to the most radical sermon I had heard from our pulpit.

"Again he was the first pastor of our church to be officially recognized by the Old South Presbyterians, he having been given part in the program for the celebration of the 150th anniversary of that society."

A greeting sent by this society to the Old South Presbyterians upon this occasion "was the only official recognition ever given by this 'Mother Church' that the truant daughter was worthy of regard." This was the only church in Newburyport to formally recognize this most notable event.

Mrs. Beane was much loved in the society. Her tact, cheerfulness and good sense were great aids to Dr. Beane. An intimate friend said: "The church was to her a kind of household, her large

*Oration of Henry Bailey Little, 200th anniversary of the founding of the parish.

family; and she had a motherly or sisterly interest in all, high or low, prominent or obscure; they were hers and she was theirs..... She entered heartily into the purpose of all organized aids to the church at large. Of her personal influence it seems not too much to say that she was able to incite in others that 'scorn of miserable aims, that end with self'; and helped some to realize that 'rare, better, truer self' which she believed was latent in the weakest and poorest of us all."

Mrs. Beane died in the summer of 1904. Her death was a severe loss both to her husband and to the parish. The resignation of Dr. Beane, which took place on March 25th, 1905, was deeply regretted.

The Rev. Laurence Hayward, a graduate of Harvard college and divinity school, was ordained and installed here on Friday afternoon, November 16th, 1905. An ecclesiastical council of ministers and delegates from churches of this denomination was present. The ordination sermon was by the Rev. William W. Fenn of Cambridge. Several events of interest have taken place during Mr. Hayward's incumbency. For many years a mission Sunday-school has been maintained in the south end of the city. Largely through his efforts a small building, the Chapel of St. Peter in Joppa, was erected in 1915. A Sunday school and services were held here first on October 17th of the same year. This mission is largely supported by funds from the estate of the late Mrs. Julia M. Moseley.

In the world war Mr. Hayward and members of the parish were especially active both in relief work at home and service abroad. Forty-eight names, three of women of whom two were nurses and one a physician, are on the parish roll of honor. Against one name, that of Raymond Balch, a young man of great promise, whose patriotism and sense of justice sent him to England to enlist in the aviation corps several months before the United States declared war, is a gold star.

In 1925 two tall black station-agent stoves, that partly heated and much disfigured the church with forty feet of funnel running below its ceiling to exits near the pulpit, were removed and furnaces installed in the cellar. The stoves are said to have replaced salamanda stoves of a much earlier date. Just when the latter were

installed is one of the facts that has slipped into oblivion. They may have dated from 1839 when a committee was ordered to set up furnaces to heat the church and was given $150 for the purpose.

The 200th anniversary of the founding of the parish was observed on June 26th, 1925. The success of this most happy festivity was owing, in a great measure, to the care and efforts of Mr. Hayward. On December 20th, 1925, the Sunday evening before Christmas, a candle light service was inaugurated which proved so successful that such a service has become a yearly custom. On these occasions the great church is lighted solely by candles and presents a very beautiful appearance. The service consists of organ and vocal music, usually assisted by a violin, harp or other instrument, reading and prayer. These services are very popular.

Invitations and notices were sent out in June, 1932, which brought many parishioners and friends to a reunion service on the last Sunday of that month. There are many families in the city whose church affiliations are naturally here. Others are interested because of the liberal teachings so long current here, the long and significant past of the society and the beauty and mellowness of the church.

A similar reunion service was held on June 25th, 1933. The success of these events has given rise to the hope that such reunions may become a yearly custom, and that by their means may be built new associations with the church and old allegiances reestablished.

CHAPTER XI

THREE NOTABLE ANNIVERSARIES

Three anniversaries have been celebrated in this society that would be remarkable in any American organization. In 1875 its 150th birthday was commemorated. In his letter regretting his inability to attend this festival Thomas Wentworth Higginson wrote: "A fine flavor of antiquity is suggested when you select the centennial period of the nation to celebrate the century and a half birthday of an institution."

A committee of leading members of the parish made careful arrangements and sent out invitations, bearing at their top John Lowell's liberal motto: "In necessariis Unitas; in non-necessariis Libertas; in omnibus Charitas." Invitations were published in the Newburyport Herald and in the Christian Register. In response to these there assembled in the beautiful old church a notable gathering of parishioners, both of that time and of former times, and friends. The day chosen was October 20th, a compromise date midway between that of the dedication of the first meeting house on June 25th, 1725, and that of the installation of the first minister in the following January.

"The pulpit was simply but tastefully decorated with autumn leaves—many tinted and gorgeous—and with wreaths of evergreen; and over it on the wall hung the portraits of the second and third pastors of the society—Rev. Thomas Cary and Rev. John Andrews, D. D. Between these portraits was a beautiful floral composition in the form of an ancient lyre. Over the pulpit, on the left, was a simple memorial in the original gilt figures, '1725' which had been preserved as the only relic of the first meeting house of the parish, and which marked the date of its erection; and on the other side a similar design, '1801,' the date of the completion of the present church building."

A service of music, prayer and responsive reading was concluded with an original hymn, written for the occasion by the Rev. Samuel Longfellow, who had filled the pulpit of the church many times. The hymn is so much an epitome of the society's history and aims that it is given here. It was sung by the choir and congregation.

"By this broad stream our fathers made their dwelling,
Builded their ships, and launched them from the shore,
Trusting in God when waves were roughly swelling,
They dared the sea, nor trembled at its roar.

Honor we still their faith and brave endeavor;
Cherish the walls their piety has reared:
We sail not on the ancient lines forever,
Yet trust no less in God, whom they revered.

Our broader day with fresher light beholding,
Changing the creed, but keeping firm the faith,
Freely the ancient forms of thought remoulding,
Asking what word today the Spirit saith,

We, from the tide worn piers our ships unmooring
Afloat, but not adrift, upon the tide,
Dame Truth's rough sea; in faith our hearts assuring
Safe must be he who sails with God for guide."

The oration which followed these exercises was by the Hon. Amos Noyes, a distinguished member of the society. It traced much of the parish history and extracts from it have been repeatedly quoted in the preceding pages.

In the afternoon of this interesting day about 500 parish members and guests assembled in City hall, where the women of the parish, with little outside help, had prepared "tables, elegantly and bountifully spread, and decorated with bouquets."

The Rev. Joseph May, minister at this time, opened the post-prandial program by saying that while his parish "was located in Newburyport it virtually extended over the country. Invitations to those connected with the society in the past or the present, in themselves or their ancestors, went to all of the New England states, the Middle states, to many states of the South and West, to those of the Rocky Mountains and of the Pacific, while some went across the ocean to Europe. This gives me an idea of the great mission of the society as a means of promoting virtue and extending culture over a broad area, the culture of a manly spirit, of high honor, virtue and religion."

The Rev. Thomas Fox, about whom so many sharp winds of criticism had blown during his pastorate here, was the first speaker. He recalled former days in the parish and spoke with deep appreciation of Dr. Andrews and his daughters. Among the addresses that followed were those of the Hon. Eben F. Stone, whose family for five generations had been members of the parish, the Rev. Edward Everett Hale of Boston, Rev. Samuel J. Spaulding, D. D. of the Whitefield church of this city, and the Rev. Samuel L. Caldwell, D. D., of the Newton Theological school, a former citizen. Letters were read from friends unable to be present. It was regretted that the day was not long enough to permit all the guests present to be heard, or all the letters received to be read.

On October 31st, a century, four weeks and a day after services were first held in this meeting house, its centenary celebration was held. The church was filled once more with guests and parishioners; and the exercises, as before, were music, prayer and responsive reading. The oration on this occasion was by Mr. Nathan N. Withington who cited the various steps by means of which the present building came into existence, reviewed the past century and concluded: "It has been a wonderful century upon which we have looked back, and the house which the fathers built still is fresh and fair, and may last to the close of the twentieth century when a generation having the benefit of a longer experience will look back with much the same feeling upon us as we entertain toward the builders, and will celebrate the two hundredth anniversary of the meeting house of the First Religious Society in Newburyport. We send down our greetings to you, friends of one hundred years hence, nor ask for present response."

The morning was concluded with a hymn, written by Ralph Tracy Hale, a young member of the parish, which the congregation sang.

"Through years of change, through years of doubt,
    Calm and unchanging hast thou stood,
Hallowed and blest in youth and age,
    Still consecrate to human good.

Sheltered beneath thy roof, here dwell,
    Through the long-ended struggle taught,
Love, independence, freedom, truth,
    Triumphant in the people's thought.

Lord, in the years to come, we pray
    That Thou wilt send Thy people light,
And if their pathway grow too hard,
    Succor Thou them, and guide them right.

Endue with power, and quicken hope;
    Grant them the gift of grace to see;
Simple and pure their spirits keep,
    In sweet communion, Lord, with Thee."

In the afternoon, when the guests were again gathered in the meeting house, the Hon. Elisha P. Dodge, a leading citizen and for many years a parishioner, as master of the ceremonies, introduced several gentlemen who spoke of their interest in or connection with the parish. Among them were Judge Francis C. Lowell and Mr. John Lowell, both descendants of the Rev. John Lowell, the Hon. Charles Francis Adams, grandson of John Quincy Adams, who often attended services at the old meeting house and made many notes in his diary regarding the preaching he heard in the town, and Mr. Herbert D. Hale, son of Edward Everett Hale, who had been present at the earlier anniversary celebration. Mr. Hale spoke most appreciatively of the architecture of the building. Mrs. Harriet Prescott Spofford, who had been one of the gifted young girls in whom Mr. Higginson had been deeply interested, sent these beautiful lines which were read by Dr. Beane, minister of the parish at that time:

"Keeping his flock along the hill
The singer saw the day begin,
The darkness fail, the splendor win,
Sunrise build heaven in the sky,—
Lift up, ye everlasting doors,
He cried, and be ye lifted high,
The King of Glory shall come in.

Let us who in Christ's spirit here
Would worship God, assoiled of sin,
Would see the wrong fail and godhead win,
Fling wide the portals of the soul!
Lift up the gates of every heart!
The deeps shall open like a scroll,
The King of Glory shall come in!"

Music and a short address by Mr. Henry A. Noyes, son of the orator of the former anniversary, were followed by a humorous poem written and read by Edmund L. Pearson, a parishioner whose name is now well known in literature.

"There's a mystery been puzzling me for almost fifteen years,
Today, I hope 'twill away—as every mystery clears;
For nearly every Sunday within that space of time
I have sat within this church—the requirements of rhyme
Will scarcely here permit an exact enumeration;
But that I take to be a fairly honest estimation.

And every Sunday in those years since one so long ago
There's a question I have asked myself, a thing I've wished to know.
It's horribly annoying to a meditative mind,
It frightfully disturbs the religiously inclined,
To have a vexing problem eternally presented,
Yet never have an answer conveniently invented.

And so today I put it plain, that all may understand—
If anyone can answer me, I beg he'll raise his hand—
Back of the pulpit, on the wall, with fat red cords to bind 'em,
Some ancient bright red curtains hang—but what on earth's behind
'em?

That's only one of many things I've found extremely vexing,
As instance— how to tell the time's a matter most perplexing,
When, as I look at yonder clock, why, what am I to do?
Upon its antique countenance—three hands instead of two!

Up in the pulpit there's a rest on which the Bible sits
Quite in defiance of the things that gravity permits.
I'd marveled greatly this could be, for miracles are past—
One Sunday morn it came down bang, what joy was mine at last!

There's something else within this place, whereof I dare not speak,
The old time builder's heart and mind leave modern phrases weak.
Deep in his stern New England soul, in seasons long ago,
He dreamed, perchance, of Plymouth woods, beneath their mask of snow.

He thought, mayhap, upon the folk New England's churches then
Had bred within their frozen midst, upon a line of men—
Upon whose faces winter sat, but down within whose souls
Burned all the heat and all the sun that springtime e'er unrolls."

So with a smile upon their faces the great congregation rose and sang the doxology, bowed their heads for the benediction and passed from the meeting house. Then the memories of two centuries must have throbbed in the darkness and quietness that settled upon it, memories of those who had built and maintained it, of congregations who had attended services there, and of those who, often in peace but sometimes in the pangs of the birth of new things, had preached from its pulpit.

Two hundred years and a day after the first crude meeting house of the parish had been dedicated, in the now old second meeting house, there was held a fitting commemorative festival. The day, June 26th, 1925, was rainy; but the church was well filled with interested friends and parishioners. The exercises began at half past four in the afternoon and consisted of organ, violin and vocal music, a scripture lesson by the Rev. Laurence Hayward, and then the singing by the choir and congregation of a hymn, written for the occasion by Ralph Tracy Hale, now resident in Boston:

"Our fathers cleared a path for truth:
No timid souls were they;
Undaunted filled their faith with works,—
Can we do less today?

Their conscience knew no compromise,
    Their spirit no defeat:
They sat their standards on the heights,—
    Shall we, their sons, retreat?

Their vision saw the future fair
    Beyond the sunset's gleam;
Their future we are living now,—
    Have we fulfilled their dream?

Our sons, we pray, shall take from us
    As from our fathers we,
A past forever holy and
    A future forever free."

The historical address which followed these preliminary exercises was by Mr. Henry Bailey Little, treasurer of the church. Quickly reviewing the earlier events Mr. Little spoke in greater detail of the twenty-four years that had passed since the last anniversary celebration. Of this period his personal knowledge was most comprehensive.

*"Then followed a delightful social hour, during which guests registered and friend met friend. Literature and photographs relating to the church and parish were distributed."

A buffet supper was served in the parish dining room. The addresses which followed it were given in the upper hall. Mr. Little acted as toastmaster and introduced Alvin T. Fuller, governor of Massachusetts, Michael Cashman, mayor of Newburyport, several local and visiting clergymen, former parishioners and others connected with or interested in the society. All spoke, some of appreciation, some of memories, some of hopes for the future and all contributed a new impulse for endeavor to keep this venerable society alive.

From its backward trail, dim in the long past, these three festivals have brought to the notice of the present generation the substantial accomplishments and the grace of high aims which has marked the First Parish of Newburyport.

*Newburyport Daily News.

CHAPTER XII

THE CHURCH SCHOOL

A community Sunday school was organized in Newburyport in 1817. Churches were not, at that time, equipped with vestries and social rooms. Therefore this school was held in one of the rooms of the Court House where fairs, suppers and many other parish gatherings took place that are now held in the social rooms of the various churches.

A Sunday school then seemed a most doubtful experiment—"a foundation for the profanation of the Sabbath" was the opinion of a Philadelphia paper, but the progressive Newburyport Herald observed: "We are happy to learn that one of these schools has recently been formed in this town."

By 1824 the First Religious Society became dissatisfied with the religious instruction given to its children by this school and withdrew them. It established a school of its own which was the first Church school of the town. A few entries regarding it are found in the record book of the school, but they seem to be copied from a more detailed account written by Miss Sarah Ann Emery, and published in the Newburyport News on June 20th, 1903. Miss Emery was a pupil and then a teacher in the school. She writes:

"One winter evening, seventy-two years ago, at a regular meeting of the teachers of the Sunday School it was decided to record in a book procured for that purpose such knowledge of the school as could be gathered....." The record begins thus:

"The Sabbath School of the First Religious Society in Newburyport was commenced in 1824. It was confined to the parish. The number of children at present (1831) is about 80, females and males in proportion of 3 to 1. The number of teachers is 14; ten ladies and four gentlemen. These four gentlemen superintend in rotation. The studies are various, the Bible, Abstract of Sacred History, the Geneva Catechism, Coleman's Catechism and Worcester's Scriptural Geography. The school assembles after services in the afternoon. The exercises are singing by the teachers and scholars accompanied by the organ, recitations interspersed with practical questions and useful observations, concluding with the Lord's prayer, read by the superintendent and repeated by the teachers and scholars. The

classes pass a monthly review before the minister of the parish who hears the recitations, addresses the scholars, reminds the teachers of their responsibilities and implores divine aid and blessing upon the school which has impressive and salutary effect."

Obviously the scholars in this school did not languish intellectually. Among the teachers were the Misses Hannah and Mary Jane Andrews, daughters of the Rev. John Andrews. These ladies are recorded as most faithful in attendance and so gifted and gracious in mind and heart that they were a great power in the school. The recorded average attendance for 1829 was "about 56, 1830 about 42, for 1831 about 31." Interest seems to have been lagging until Mr. Fox's influence was felt.

The school met in the front part of the church near the pulpit. "Beginning April 6th, 1829, Dr. Andrews gave a series of addresses or expositions on the ten commandments to the children and others interested."

The Rev. Thomas Fox, who succeeded Dr. Andrews in 1831, was especially successful in his relations with the school. Fond of children, devoted to education, that of girls as well as that of boys, a brilliant scholar and willing to devote much time to the young people of the parish, he interested them in geology, botany, mineralogy, took them for long walks and instituted the first Sunday-school picnics known in this vicinity.

At that time the organist and choir leader was Mr. T. B. White. He too devoted much time to the young people. He trained them to sing together until singing became an important part of the school program.

*"After the opening exercises the classes dispersed throughout the church. Mr. Fox provided cards on which a Bible verse and the verse of a hymn were printed. These were learned and repeated before the lesson, and the card given to the teacher who gave each child another to be learned and handed in the next Sunday.

"The Lord's supper was celebrated the first Sunday in each month directly after the morning service. After the formation of the school Mr. Fox set apart the afternoon of communion day for a special service for the children. The school gathered in the pews

*Miss Sarah Ann Emery.

around the pulpit and also formed the choir in the singing gallery. Mr. White played the organ. At these services Mr. Fox stood behind a desk placed on the communion table. After scripture reading and prayer and singing he preached a short, appropriate sermon, another song, benediction. These 'little sermons,' as they were called, were enjoyed by the older people and children flocked to hear them."

In the first year of Mr. Fox's pastorate there were 135 pupils in the Church school. The number increased in the following years. One of the daughters of Dr. Andrews, Miss Margaret, had been an invalid for many years. She recovered her health and became an efficient and much loved worker in the society. She was especially active in finding neglected children in the town and bringing them in to the school. If necessary they were supplied with suitable clothes.

Through the efforts of Mr. Fox a library of 200 books was provided for the children. New books were added to these from time to time until in 1858 the record says that "650 books belonged to the library 300 of which were missing." In this year there were 22 teachers and 93 scholars; the girls greatly outnumbered the boys. Reports regarding attendance at this time, and earlier, indicate that children occasionally shirked Sunday school. In one year the class of Miss Margaret Andrews is the only one to have a perfect record.

When Mr. Higginson came to the parish he interested himself in the school. He took the children on long walks, interested them in birds, flowers and other nature studies. *"His relation to his Sunday school and the children of the parish was apparently most affectionate. Always peculiarly fond of children, he lavished on his charges here a wealth of interest and care. There is a most touching dedication to a little fairy story which he wrote and published the year after giving up his work and while he was still living here in the town. He apparently sent all the children of the parish a copy of 'A Birthday in Fairyland,' and this was the dedication: 'I wrote this story, dear children, long before I had seen any of you, for a little niece of mine on her birthday; but it is now printed for you, because I want to leave with you some memento of my love.' He preached a sermon for the children on the first Sunday of each

*The Rev. Laurence Hayward—Address delivered before the Women's Alliance.

month at the afternoon service that was then held, and, as you read the fairy story just mentioned you are sure that he could have appealed to the children—always a difficult art."

In June, 1859, this entry was made in the record book of the school: "This afternoon was devoted to the dedication of the vestry which has just been finished. The room was crowded and the exercises very interesting and pleasant." This vestry is now used as a ladies' parlor. It is over the front vestibule and was not finished until this time.

There are entries in the record book regarding contributions to the Children's Mission in Boston and to other causes. Such contributions have been continued to the present day.

One of the young men of the parish who was in sympathy with the aims of Mr. Higginson during his incumbency here was William H. Swasey. He was also a close friend of John Greenleaf Whittier. He became one of the leading citizens of Newburyport, and was especially interested in the Sunday school which he served as superintendent for several years. A letter from him to the school is preserved. It is dated December 29th, 1869 and is as follows:

"Dear Teachers and Scholars,

At this Christmas gathering of the Sunday school I wish as a token of the interest I feel in you that you accept from me this Melodeon that has so much aided us in our Sunday music. Hoping that an increased interest in our Sunday school by parents and other friends of our Society may lead to a greater prosperity than we have ever had, I remain truly

Your friend,

William H. Swasey."

Other superintendents who were leading and representative citizens of Newburyport were Albert W. Greenleaf, Capt. Luther Dame, George W. Brown, and H. B. Little.

Saturday editions of the Newburyport Herald carried religious notices as long ago as the pastorate of Mr. May. They indicate that afternoon services were discontinued then and the Sunday school held in the church at 2.30 in the afternoon. Mr. May is still remembered by the older members of the parish who were then

children in the school. One of them remembers how delightfully he introduced Bronson Alcott, who visited the school, as Mr. Marsh. At that time every girl was reading "Little Women" and to meet a living character from such a book was thrilling.

Succeeding ministers have given time and thought to the school. For one year, beginning in September, 1923, Miss Annie Filoon of Newton, became parish assistant and was a most efficient and helpful worker in the school. Her management of the mission school in St. Peter's chapel was excellent. She organized several interesting girls' clubs and formed a group of women who sewed for the two hospitals of the city. In the Pleasant street church she helped to organize a young people's choir. Miss Filoon was succeeded by Miss Maizie Burpee of Boston, but the service of a parish assistant soon had to be discontinued for lack of funds to support it. Miss Bertha Greenleaf, of the parish, has carried on the work most efficiently.

At the present time there is an average attendance of seventy at the church school sessions, and an enrollment of ninety. The present superintendent is Mr. Edward Plumer. He succeeded Miss Evelyn Wright. Under both of these able leaders study and attendance have been well maintained.

At Thanksgiving time the children pack and distribute baskets of food to needy families in the parish and at Christmas many well filled stockings are distributed. There is an annual Christmas party and tree when each child receives at least one gift. An annual picnic is held in July.

The school celebrated its 100th anniversary in 1924. An anniversary sermon was preached on that Sunday morning by the Rev. Laurence Hayward to which many of the older members of the parish, once pupils in the school, listened with great interest. It is now in its second century, and is a strong and vigorous school. It studies the Beacon Course of Lessons; and is active in charities.

CHAPTER XIII

AUXILIARY SOCIETIES

In the early days of the parish an association composed of some of its most conscientious members undertook to correct behavior throughout the town. At the present time three auxiliary societies, the Women's Alliance, the Laymen's League and the Young People's Religious Union, attempt the less ambitious ends of promoting the religious, social and cultural influence of the church, and contribute to its material support.

These societies are the inheritors of older societies or organizations which, in their turn, seem to have been outgrowths of still older ones. It is possible that tenuous roots of these helpful agencies reach backward for two centuries, although no records of them are preserved.

After the first early efforts for wide-spread reformation the women seem to have been the first to organize. Their aims have always been practical. A Sewing Circle was organized very early; but the first recognition of it in the church books is on December 10th, 1858, when it was voted "that liberty be given the Ladies of the Sewing Circle to finish and furnish at their own expense a Vestry in the second story of the Tower of the Meeting house and that said Sewing Circle have liberty at their expense to put Gas into said meeting house." Although the women were permitted to pay for contemplated alterations a Proprietors' committee superintended them.

Another evidence of activity among the women is found in the following letter:

*"AN EXPRESSION OF THANKS FROM COMPANY I, 23rd MASSACHUSETTS VOLUNTEER INFANTRY.

Headquarters Co. I, 23rd Massachusetts Regiment,
New Berne, North Carolina, May 15th, 1862.

To the Ladies of the Unitarian Sewing Circle, and all other contributors:

We, the undersigned, in behalf of the soldiers of Company I, and all others enlisted from Newburyport in the 23rd regiment,

*Newburyport in the Civil War, by George W. Creasy.

return our heartfelt thanks for the very generous and bountifully filled box of hospital stores, etc., kindly sent us by the patriotic ladies and gentlemen of Newburyport. We assure you our hearts are melted with earnest gratitude at this sterling exhibition of thoughtfulness of us on your part, and the genuine token of substantials which you have so generously forwarded to the sick and wounded now in our regiment from our beloved city. Our path lies along the rough thorns of privations and suffering, and the alleviation from pains and sickness which the contents of your box will in a great measure afford us, will remind us of the kind friends at home, and serve to make us stronger and more faithful in the duty we are called upon to perform in the great and holy cause in which we are now engaged. Although your generous donations will pass away, yet we shall never cease to remember with deep gratitude and pleasure your thoughtful and substantial remembrance of us.

We remain very truly, your obliged friends,

William J. Creasy
David P. Muzzey, Lieuts. of Co. I."

A long list of contributors to this box, which is so fully appreciated and acknowledged, contains many surnames long associated with this society and some that are still on the parish list.

By various stages, unrecorded, the women's societies of the parish developed into the more highly organized Women's Auxiliary in 1880. This, ten years later, became the Newburyport Branch of the National Alliance, or, at the present time, the General Alliance.

Such inherited institutions as church fairs, suppers, strawberry festivals and similar parish social heights are remembered by the oldest parishioners. Valuable as these festivals have been financially, in promoting friendships among members and in creating a variety of interests they have, perhaps, been outweighed by the constant attention given by the women to the tidiness, good taste and comfort of church appointment, their general care and supervision over church property, and their help in the church school and with the young people. Partly with money they have earned, partly with the income of legacies left to them they have given large sums for the improvement and upkeep of church property. Among their

many benefactions are the recarpeting of the entire church, refurnishing the parlor, renovating the parish hall and dining room and keeping up a supply of all things needful for the latter. They have answered with generous sums appeals of the American Unitarian Association, sent delegates to the May meetings in Boston, to the Isles of Shoals conferences and to the various Alliance conferences that are held within a reasonable distance of this city. They have contributed both money and service to Newburyport community needs. Through the kindness of Unitarian ministers and women workers, who give their services as speakers at the monthly meetings, they have brought to the town many persons of unusual gifts and so have won a deservedly high reputation for the quality of their meetings. Guests are always welcomed and are often present.

The men of the parish have had their own societies. The earliest of which there seems to be any definite remembrance now was the Men's Club. This was organized in 1916, for "the promotion of the welfare of the church and the community, the discussion of subjects of interest, and the cultivation of pleasant social relations among its members." The last meeting of this club was held on February 4th, 1920. It voted then to become the John Lowell Chapter of the Laymen's League. The League holds its meetings on the first Wednesday of each month from May to October inclusive. After a supper, prepared by a committee of members, an address is given by a member or by an invited guest upon some subject of general interest. The meetings are most interesting and are well attended. This organization has maintained a continuous process of extending a helping hand to whatever projects engage the attention of the parish. It helped liberally in the installation of furnaces in the church; it contributed toward a recent renovation of the parish dining room; it supported a preaching mission in October, 1927, inviting to the city as its leader the Rev. Horace Westwood, D. D. In countless ways it has promoted the interests of the parish.

The Young People's Religious Union was the immediate outgrowth of the Church Club. The latter organization was founded early in the present century for the promotion of social activities.

Looking back upon the incomplete records of the Union there seems to be a disordered trail. Its first members have grown older. It can never retain the experience it has developed. Even with this handicap it has many substantial accomplishments to its credit.

It has helped the older societies in many ways and contributed such sums as it was able to raise to the various projects they have undertaken. Unaided it has given suppers and entertainments. A most successful entertainment was a drama, written by Miss Freda Castelhun, one of its members. Several times it has raised money to send delegates to the Isles of Shoals meetings; and usually delegates have been sent to the various conferences of the Union. Members have occupied the pulpit on Young People's Sundays with credit to themselves and profit to the congregation. About ten years ago it established the wayside pulpit. Thus it has generously contributed to the healthful activities of the church.

CHAPTER XIV

CONCLUSION

Much good fortune has come to the parish, and little that was bad. Generosity has marked its long succession of members. In 1737 the will of Capt. James Cornish contained the following clause: *"I give and bequeath to the third parish in Newbury whereof Rev. Mr. John Lowell is Pastor, Two hundred pounds in Passable Bills Credt. the interest of which sum to be disposed of to the poore of sd parish yearly, forever, by the head or overseers of the poore of sd parrish, as they shall think best and it is in memory of my deceased wife, Mary Cornish." A legacy was left long ago to provide shoes for orphans of the parish; other legacies have been left for special purposes. Thus Mrs. Helen B. Fowler left $16,000 to the society, the income to be used for the upkeep and repairs of the present church building on condition that the colonial architecture of the building be kept substantially as it is. Mr. William Swasey, besides giving many presents to the church or its auxiliary societies during his life time, left it a most substantial sum at his death and his home as a parsonage. This house was sold by the society. The latest bequest was that of Miss Georgianna Balch in 1932.

Silver for the communion service has been a favorite form of gifts. This service now consists of eight tankards and two plates. Four of the tankards were given before the departure of a third of the parish members to form the North church (now united with two others to form the Central church); two in 1743 and two in 1753. Two others are dated 1768, and may have been presented to the church after the separation which took place that year. Since one half the plate was given to the new church this parish must have owned at least eight tankards before the separation.

Two very large and handsome tankards were the gift of Capt. Peter LeBreton, ship-master and owner. They are said to have been a thank offering for a safe passage across the Atlantic. The church voted May 2nd, 1805, "that the thanks of this church be given to Capt. Peter LeBreton for his generous present of a pair of Silver Flaggons for the use of the communion table; and that the

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*Copied from the oration of Henry Bailey Little at the 200th anniversary celebration of the Society.

Deacons be requested to present the same in the name of the church."

Persons belonging to the society have purchased by subscription other furnishings for the table, and there is a record of thanks "given to the Heirs of Mr. Joseph Titcomb for their present of a Silver Spoon for the Use of the Communion Table."

These are only a few of the many benefactions the society has received, but they are sufficient to prove that much whole-hearted allegiance has been given to it. Two large handsome plates were purchased by the society. It instructed its deacons to buy "two silver dishes of suitable size and on the best terms in their power for the use of the communion table." These plates are inscribed: "Property of the First Church, Oct. 30, 1805." Their price, according to the treasurer's book, was $100.

Soon after the Pleasant street church was built the young matrons of the society each contributed one, two, three or more silver dollars to be melted and fashioned into a baptismal font. The work was done by the famous Moulton firm of silversmiths of this city; and the font is another of the treasured possessions of the society.

In its turn the society has given much to many worthy causes, not in money only but in men and women of keen minds, good judgment and willing hands. On December 23rd, 1889, a collection was taken in six churches of the city for the Howard Benevolent Society. This society contributed $46.15, the second largest contribution of the day. It has loaned its meeting house for Fourth of July orations, for lectures and for many occasions of public interest.

The town celebrated the return of peace here in 1815; and in 1919 a large community congregation again assembled within its walls to listen to addresses of thankfulness and hope from ministers of the various churches. These are only a few instances of the hospitality the society has been happy to offer to the citizens of Newburyport. The parish makes an annual contribution to the American Unitarian Association, and supports the Hungarian parish of Komjatszeg.

The first entry in the church books regarding music was made in 1821. $150 was appropriated that year. Since then each year some appropriation has been made. Since the early 70's the appropriations have been larger; and there are recorded thanks to volun-

teer choirs, to regularly appointed music committees; and occasionally an item refers to the service of some especial musician. More recently generous sums have been expended for music.

This society has not escaped the recent fate of many religious societies. The changed character of the population, deaths, and removals of old families from the city, and the almost mesmeric effect of the present epoch of marvels, which fills our days with new wonders, has tended to diminish the numbers of the society and the attendance at Sunday services. The easy cosmopolitanism of the age, with which travel, newspapers, books and radio endow almost everybody, is another cause for smaller congregations than formerly assembled here. The society is vital, however; it is reasonably large and it seems that a long future of usefulness lies before it.

MINISTERS OF THE PARISH

Rev. John Lowell.....Installed Jan. 19th, 1726
Died May 15th, 1767

Rev. Thomas Cary .....Installed May 11th, 1768
Died Nov. 24th, 1808

Rev. John Andrews....Installed (associate pastor) Dec. 10th, 1788
Resigned (as pastor) May 5th, 1830

Rev. Thomas B. Fox .....Installed Aug. 3rd, 1831
Resigned April 1st, 1846

Rev. Thomas W. Higginson .....Installed Sept. 15th, 1847
Resigned Sept. 16th, 1849

Rev. Charles J. Bowen .....Installed Nov. 29th, 1850
Resigned June 10th, 1853

Rev. Artemas B. Muzzey .....Installed Sept. 3rd, 1857
Resigned Nov. 1st, 1864

Rev. Joseph May .....Installed July 21st, 1868
Resigned Dec. 15th, 1875

Rev. George L. Stowell .....Installed April 12th, 1877
Resigned Sept. 8, 1879

Rev. Daniel W. Morehouse .....Installed April 8th, 1881
Resigned Dec. 5th, 1887

Rev. Samuel C. Beane.....Installed May 15th, 1888
Resigned March 25th, 1905

Rev. Laurence Hayward .....Installed Nov. 16th, 1905